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The care of dependent, neglected, and wa



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International Congress of Charities, Correction and Philanthropy

**I. THE CARE OF DEPENDENT, NEGLECTED AND
WAYWARD CHILDREN**

II. SOCIOLOGY IN INSTITUTIONS OF LEARNING





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WAYWARD CHILDREN

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THE
Care of Dependent, Neglected
and Wayward Children

BEING A REPORT OF

THE SECOND SECTION OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS
OF CHARITIES, CORRECTION AND PHILANTHROPY,
CHICAGO, JUNE, 1893

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EDITED BY

ANNA GARLIN SPENCER
CHARLES WESLEY BIRTWELL

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SECTION II.

THE CARE OF DEPENDENT, NEGLECTED AND WAYWARD
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Providence, Rhode Island.

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CHARLES WESLEY BIRTWELL,
General Secretary of the Boston Children's Aid Society,
Boston, Massachusetts.

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1894

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International Congress of Charities, Correction and Philanthropy.

SECOND SECTION.

THE CARE OF DEPENDENT, NEGLECTED AND WAYWARD CHILDREN.

GENERAL SESSION.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 14, 1893, 8 P. M.

Rev. FREDERICK H. WINES, LL. D., presiding.

The CHAIRMAN.—I take great pleasure in saying to the audience that the Marquis de CHASSELOUP LAUBAT, who kindly consented to take a place in the list of our vice-presidents, has honored us by his attendance this evening. I take pleasure in introducing to you, ladies and gentlemen, the Marquis de CHASSELOUP LAUBAT, French Commissioner to the World's Congress Auxiliary, and Delegate of the Society of Civil Engineers of France to the World's Columbian Exposition.

Marquis de CHASSELOUP LAUBAT.—As I know that the programme this evening is a rather long one, and that we shall have many valuable papers to listen to, I shall only say a few words about the question of education of children who are "morally abandoned." That question has for a very long time troubled and exercised the French government. We have been, in all questions relating to education, between two extremes. Some people in France claim that everything ought to be done by private societies, by private charitable institutions. On the contrary, some other people claim that everything ought to be done by the state, and that it is only just and fair that the state should provide for the education, instruction and care of children who are *morelement*, that is, practically, to all intents and purposes, abandoned.

We think now that those two extremes are equally dangerous. We think that it will not do to allow all the work to be done by private societies alone. We think that the state ought at least to have some control over what is done, because it has been proved that

sometimes those societies did not do their work as it ought to have been done, and that sometimes, in out-of-the-way country farms, the children did not receive in private families the proper care to which they were entitled.

On the other hand we think it is always excessively dangerous to accustom a community to look up to the state for everything. We think that the nation in which a state does everything is a nation that is soon bound to fall down, because individual energy is bound to become extinct. When people always look up to a superior organism to do everything which they ought to do themselves, then those people become unfit to govern themselves in a very short time.

Therefore we now seem to have taken a course between those two extremes. The state gives help to all those charitable societies which work under the control of the state. We hope, therefore, by allowing the state system to be run in competition with the private system, that out of the great emulation which shall arise we shall derive a great benefit.

The question is a most important one, because as the child grows, so the man is. There are, of course, some instances in which children brought up among the most objectionable classes of people have turned out to be good citizens; but that is exceedingly rare, unfortunately. There is no doubt that the influence of surroundings, as well as of heredity, is enormous; therefore we feel it to be our duty in France to do everything we can to have the children who are "morally abandoned" taken care of in such a way that some day they may become useful citizens for their country and for the whole of mankind.

The CHAIRMAN.—I have the honor of introducing to you Mrs. ANNA GARLIN SPENCER, chairman of the section.

Mrs. SPENCER then read the following paper:

SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY TOWARDS CHILD-LIFE.

REV. ANNA GARLIN SPENCER.

This title is itself in brief suggestion the statement of a new problem in human relationship. The responsibility of parents toward their own children is universally acknowledged and its main outlines generally agreed upon, even if its accepted obligations are often ignored or inadequately fulfilled. But social responsibility toward child-life in general means, if anything, the obligation of all adult strength and wisdom and virtue to act in some measure and in some manner as a parent toward the whole of childhood in its weakness and innocence and ignorance. The problem lies in the question, how and in what degree shall society-at-large father and mother

child-life; and it is a new problem, because the general social conditions underlying it are new. We cannot, therefore, learn to master the problem until we define clearly a few fundamental points in the historical development of our present social order.

Three distinct, yet related changes mark the difference between our present and the older civilization out of which it has sprung. These are:—

First. The political change from the aristocratic order, in which the family was the social unit, to the democratic order, in which the individual is the social unit.

Second. The domestic change from the patriarchal collection of blood-relations of several generations under one governing head (which constituted the old family), to the personal relation of one man and one woman to each other and to their offspring in legal marriage, which is the modern family.

Third. The industrial change from handicraft to machine-work.

Let us briefly examine these three changes in their bearing upon child-life.

The first, the political change from the aristocratic to the democratic ideal, has introduced into the problem of child-care the element of child-rights. Under the old order the power of the paternal head of the family was supreme over the life and even death of the child, and the welfare of the family and the state was alone considered in the direction of the child's destiny. To-day the political ideals which have made man as man and woman as woman entitled "to certain inalienable rights," without regard to varying conditions of race or birth, have made the child also, as an embryo individual, entitled to certain inalienable rights of growth and opportunity. A whole phalanx of troublesome questions of adjustment arises with every new revelation of the law of justice. And the most difficult of all, perhaps, come with this new conception that the child has a right to certain conditions of development, irrespective of the parents' will and in spite of the parents' incompetency. Difficult, however, as these questions of social adjustment may be, they are the testimony to a beneficent law of growth which will forevermore make impossible the silent, hopeless oppression and repression of the individual life of the child and the weaker adult, common to the ancient order of society. From now on the law of equity is to be interpreted as demanding the consideration of each child's condition from the point of view of his own good and his own happiness. Hence, from now

on, also, we shall witness a multiplication of all those laws which aim to protect the child of unfortunate birth and circumstances from infringement upon his rights as a human being.

The second great change noted, the domestic one, from the collective, or patriarchal, to the single family, has wrought important changes also in the conditions affecting child-life.

The collective family system provided, in its own way, for all children, as it did also for all aged, sick, or incompetent adults, within some enclosure of blood-relationship. The great and unequally adjusted burden placed upon the adult of earning capacity by this patriarchal family life explains why the killing of infant children, especially of weak and ill-formed ones, and more especially of girls (for whom marriage dowries were so expensive a necessity), seemed to many of our ancestors a religious duty; as did also in many cases the neglect or enforced suicide of the aged and hopelessly diseased. These customs, which seem to us most cruel, were a blind following of the law of self-preservation and of race-growth in physical and social power, by methods which the ancient family order seemed to make necessary. The change from this older domestic life to our modern family system, of the one father and mother and their offspring, revealed conspicuously the vast difference between these immediate parents in their power to care for their children. In the old order the deficiency of these immediate parents might be made up in part by the superiority of the reigning family head or some other relative. To make, however, the single father and mother the sole arbiters of the child's destiny is to show at once and plainly the incompetency of many people for parental duties. Hence, as soon as the new order of family life was established, society-at-large became conscious of many abused, abandoned, neglected and dependent children, pitiful fragments of humanity, "solitary," not "set in families," or mis-set in personal relationship. And as soon as society became cognizant of the need to supplement in such cases personal parental care, the effort to do so began. Hence the origin of our charitable institutions.

At first the hospital, and one other, that omnivorous catch-all, the almshouse, were the only institutions. In the almshouse were gathered young and old, good and bad, the crippled, deaf-mutes, the blind, the feeble-minded, and the sick and insane paupers for the most part. Later came classification, which is still progressing, and more rapidly and thoroughly to-day than ever before in its work of

discrimination and fitting of special help to special need. To many of the Roman Catholic monks and clergy of the mediæval church we owe the first attempts to minister, according to their particular needs, to the most suffering and abused class of children. The good Padre Lana Terzi, the Jesuit of Brescia, who published the first treatise on the instruction of the blind, set in motion the whole train of beneficent impulses which culminated in Dr. Howe's magnificent work for the sightless. The Venerable Bede of the eighth century, who records the first hint of a manual alphabet, joined his prophetic insight to the self-sacrificing labor of the Spanish Benedictine monk, Pedro Ponce, who first taught the deaf to speak, in starting the double system of instruction of deaf-mute children which to-day gives us such noble results. While the schools for the feeble-minded, which now yearly succor and help toward better mental condition the most pitiable child-wreckage of humanity, date back on the heart side (like many another most Christlike charity) to that lover of his kind, St. Vincent de Paul, who first gathered a few idiots from the abuse and abhorrence of the populace within the shelter of his Priory; and on the educational side they date back to that great physician and philosopher, Itard, who dowered his pupil, Dr. Seguin, with the wealth of knowledge from which we still draw for our work in this field.

These and many other rays of light from the gentle heart of Christianity gleam across the dark pathway of the suffering childhood of the past. But the pauper child of the middle ages was generally utterly at the mercy of his circumstances, and the defective child an object of hatred and fear. One great social help, however, in supplementing the immediate parental care for the child of normal capacity was found in the industrial order of the centuries preceding our own. Until Arkwright and Compton set their spinning machines and "mules" at work, all textile manufactures were of household industry; until Evans and Read and Stephenson taught the world how to make steam do its chores and set mechanical invention on its miracle-working way, all branches of human labor clustered around the fireside. The apprentice system of this older handicraft and home type of industry did two things for child-life; namely, it put the boy or girl who was learning a trade in the home of the master or mistress and thus gave him, or her, family as well as shop discipline during early years; and by virtue of the needs of hand-work itself it demanded personal qualifications of patient and persevering study during the apprenticeship.

The third great change which was noted was the industrial one from this handicraft system in the home to machine-work in shop and factory. And the effect of this change upon child-life is marked to a degree not often realized. Doubtless under the old system the apprenticed boy often suffered from the too harsh rule of the master, but he stood a good chance of learning an honest calling under morally protected conditions in the home of a man perhaps more efficient and successful than his own father, and by methods which made every element of skill, aptitude or honesty tell perceptibly in his progress. And the "bound girl," though often neglected and forlorn, still oftener, perhaps, left a shiftless and poverty-bound home for a neat and well-ordered one, in which she learned what her own mother could not have taught her.

And the idea of child-rights having been born, the law began early to define the obligations of masters towards their apprentices; at first, it is true, with more regard to the father's right in the child than to the child's right in itself; but later with a real devotion to the individual development of the child as an embryo citizen of the state. Connecticut, whose early code has been so unjustly maligned, has a quaintly worded provision, passed in 1813, which is, so far as I know, the first in any state or country to recognize the child's individual right in the sense just indicated. This law required that "the selectmen of the town shall have a vigilant eye over their brethren and neighbors to see that none of them shall suffer so much barbarism as not to teach their children and apprentices so much learning as shall enable them to read perfectly the English tongue, and a knowledge of the capital laws, and to breed them in some honest calling." This, "on pain of removal of such neglected children" (even from their own parents, remember) "to homes where they will be thus cared for." We have here a germ not only of "prevention of cruelty" and "truancy laws," but of "factory and shop inspection" as well.

But these phrases anticipate.

The most marked peculiarity of the change from handicraft to machine-dominated industries, considered in relation to child-life, is that children and ignorant adults can acquire facility sufficient for co-operation with many machines in a very short time, whereas the handicraft requires long training, and also a good degree of physical strength and mental power, to insure efficiency. And since child labor and ignorant labor is cheaper to the employer in dollars and

cents than any other, the instinct for money-making in the leaders of the new forms of industry early scented the new ways of gain. The setting up of Arkwright's power-looms and Whitney's cotton-gins resulted at once in a swarming of children into the wage-earning class, and at the same time into conditions of labor outside of family life. The first movement in this direction reveals one of the worst pictures of human selfishness on the one side, and human misery on the other, that history has ever shown. Thorold Rogers has told us what sufferings were the lot of the adult laborer during this change from hand to machine work. But these sufferings were as nothing—except, indeed, as a large contributing cause—to the hopeless slavery in which it plunged the children. The knowledge that child-life could be coined into dollars by means of machinery resulted in the hiring on contract of thousands of children from the almshouses to work in the mines and brickyards and factories of England—children, remember, of from three to fourteen years of age, who were kept at work from thirteen to fifteen hours a day under conditions absolutely regardless of the comfort and safety of the worker. The almshouse authorities bargained with the contractors, not for the protection of the children, but in the interest of the taxpayer; and some agreements were of horrible suggestion, like that which compelled the contractor to take "one idiot child with every twenty sound ones." You all know well the manner in which England has sought to wipe out her sin in this direction of child slavery in labor, by being the first and most thorough teacher to the world of the responsibility of the state toward the child-worker. Her well devised and admirably administered factory laws must not, however, lead us to ignore the darker side of the lesson she has to give. The fact that the world of industry has found out and established methods of labor which can utilize the work of children to profit gives to that world of industry, as an upper and a nether millstone, the greed of employers and the cupidity and poverty of parents, between which the life of the child is often ground to powder.

Under the patriarchal system the child was often hopelessly oppressed and ill-treated, but it was inside the home and did not disturb the wage-balance; and the pressure of the other families upon each one to take care of its own children was very patent and immediate.

Under the personal-family system, during the reign of handicraft, the apprenticeship method combined with home training to

prepare the more fortunate poor children for useful work in after-life; and the almshouse and kindred institutions held all the abandoned, neglected and dependent children who were not thus bound out to learn a trade. In our century, for the first time, children enter the industrial ranks not as learners, but as earners. Although, however, a child may now do in connection with his machine what an adult would have been required for in the age of handicraft, he is never paid the same wages; therefore the child wage-earner appears in our new industrial order as a competitor against the adult in the labor market, and that adult may be and often is his own father.

What is the result of this? The vast increase of the neglected, abandoned and dependent classes of children. The process may be briefly defined as follows:—

The poor and ignorant father finds that wages are too low in many industries for him to earn enough single-handed to decently support his family, and so he sets his children at work. This lowness of wages, our best economists declare, is largely the result of the competition of the child-laborer with the grown man; since "in textile industries, in which women and children work, the earnings of the entire family are not larger than in other industries, like those of metal, where only men work." By putting their children at labor, the poor ignorant father and mother still further decrease the wages of grown men by increasing the number of child-workers. And not only that, but they make it still harder for grown men to get employment in those lines of industry in which the child-worker is a factor in depressing the wage; since the child-worker is always to be had cheaper, if at all, and is therefore preferred by the employer who goes into the market to buy the cheapest help he can get. It is asserted by high statistical authorities, and no disproof is attempted, that "the employment of children has always increased with the reduction of wages, and the employment of adults has decreased with the employment of children." The ignorant father we speak of, finding this difficulty in getting work (the cause of which difficulty he does not understand), gradually becomes accustomed to living upon the earnings of his children. These generally prove insufficient, and the wife too begins to work, and then the father's demoralization usually sets in and rapidly progresses until he is given over to laziness or drinking or both. The combined wages of the wife and children now prove insufficient to bear the burdens, and then a sick, or discouraged, or morally broken mother, a disabled child, too many births

of new and importunate mouths, or a financial panic affecting the employer; or some other cause, tumbles this family over into the abyss of pauperism. And then the younger children become subjects for public institutional care or for private charity; while the older ones often become candidates for reform schools by reason of the moral dangers incident to their too early money independence. This is the history of tens of thousands of families from which come the children who are the subjects of consideration for our section of this Congress. In tens of thousands of other families, the vices of the father, and the weakness and ignorance of the mother, start the fatal roll down hill. Both classes—those whom a bad economic condition almost forces into pauperism, and those whom an immoral personal tendency leads into it—meet in one depth of wretchedness to focus the attention of all just and wise people upon both evil elements of our social order.

Ignorance, child labor and its attendant economic derangement, vice, these are the great producing causes of neglected, dependent and wayward childhood.

We now come to the double question, what can be done to lessen these causes, and what shall we do for the children of these classes? Society, by means of state and private charity, and through educational appliances, has declared that something, many things, shall be done to help and save these little ones for whom the individual family provision is insufficient. It begins to be clear to all of us that in a condition of society like the present, in which there are such differences of physical, mental and moral capacity among parents, there must be some common standard of essentials in child-development established and enforced by society at large. Nothing short of this can make our democratic doctrine of equality of rights and opportunities applicable socially as well as politically.

If there are to be people worthy of our modern ideals in government, there must be this common standard of essentials established, even for the poorest and most ill-born and unfortunate children. What is that standard? The democratic state declares it beyond question in its requirements of citizenship; for a self-supporting, law-abiding, and fairly intelligent man or woman can alone fulfill the citizen's duty in a free state. Hence some force in society must see to it that the conditions favorable to the development of self-supporting capacity, and of at least average moral and mental power, surround each child, since the facts clearly indicate that the immediate

parents of all children cannot be depended upon wholly and absolutely to give these conditions.

The question is, therefore, how shall the personal parental care be supplemented? And first, what can and should the state do to establish and maintain this standard of essentials for every child? I cannot even state here the fundamental problems of the proper and useful relation of state and of private societies and institutions. I must only pause to say that the next great question of method as respects all charity in both state and municipality, in this country, the great question which must be clarified and settled as far as possible, is this: What shall tax-supported agencies do and what shall be left to volunteer effort to support? A national commission of inquiry, made up of experts of philosophic temper and of wide experience, could be established for no better purpose than to throw light upon this tangled problem by the collection of reliable data for comparison, and by suggestive deduction therefrom.

One point, however, in this problem is clear, and that is this: "The state is society in condition to coerce," and hence all those powers set to protect the child from cruelty, outrage and wilful neglect, and ill treatment of every sort, carrying within them, as they do, the potent of compulsion and punishment, belong clearly to the state. Such powers of child-protection constitute the state's higher police force; and we are learning to place the *protection of children in their right to education* in the category of the state's duties toward child-life. The economic derangement caused by the child wage-earner may not be a proper subject for preventive statute laws; I am not here to discuss that question. But the defrauding of little children of their sacred right to a decent educational preparation for citizenship in a state demanding intelligence and self-supporting, self-controlling power in its citizens is subject for legal enactment, if anything is. And since abandoned and neglected children come from ignorance, vice and child-labor, the state, both national and sectional, is under bonds to hold the parents and guardians of all children to a strict use of the earlier years of life for educational purposes only. Therefore, of course, the state is under bonds to provide educational facilities for all children. The laws for the prevention of cruelty, and those newer laws compelling parents to support their children if possible, are certainly legitimate, and the compulsory school laws which are the logical corollary of free public education are also legitimate.

I am sure that no great headway can be made in lessening the sum of ignorance and pauperism and practical incompetency with which charity has to deal, save in this protection of the child in its educational right, and in multiplying the means for wise educational use of at least the first twelve years of every child's life.

Next we are coming to see that the higher police force of the state is required, and may be justifiably used, to secure physical safety, good sanitary conditions, and a minimum of moral danger for every minor who works for hire in any place of labor. The inspection and oversight of all such places by properly constituted and paid officials is the goal of simple justice and of wise self-protection in the state; and this for the reason that the physical and moral health of the younger workers must be guarded in our modern, competitive and congregated industries, if we are to grow parents physically and morally fit to care for their children.

Now let us very briefly enumerate the classes of children for whom the state and society, one or both, must provide something beside educational opportunity and protection from abuse and wrong condition.

The children named in the subject of our section comprise, first, the deficient in mind or special bodily sense: the blind, the deaf-mute, the idiotic or distinctly feeble-minded. For these classes institutional care and specialized training have been already provided from the impulse of most tender feeling and under most skilled scientific leadership. There is no serious problem left in this branch of child-helping, for all recognize the need for special care of these unfortunates, and society has proved itself willing to be taxed to meet this need where the parents cannot fully do so.

Second, the deficient in physical power. Of these the temporarily sick or injured are now cared for fully and tenderly in most civilized communities in hospitals. The permanently crippled or invalid are not always so satisfactorily placed. And there is in respect to these classes the ever-recurring question of institutions or private homes.

Third, there are the dependent children who are of normal capacity, physical, mental and moral: the orphaned, half-orphaned, and those whom vice or crime or confirmed pauperism has deprived of true parental care and training. No one doubts that these children need and should receive from society at large a fathering and mothering which shall aim to make good to them the loss of their natural

homes. People, however, are not agreed as to the best methods of care for these unfortunate children. The advocates of institutional life give the arguments on one side; the advocates of the boarding-out and placing-out system, on the other. I cannot discuss this question of methods at this time, yet I must be allowed to say that I believe the consensus of expert opinion is that the institution, however good, can never be the ideal place in which to bring up a child. If the best-born child needs for its best development the best home-life, certainly the less fortunate child cannot well do without the same influences. Hence, if the child's parents are wholly out of the count by reason of death, of capital crime, or of absolute surrender of the child, the happiest solution of the problem of the fate of any little waif must be its transplanting and resetting in a good adopted home. But the gravest difficulties inhere in those cases in which one or both parents are living and linked to the child by such bonds that at any time they may reclaim it. In such cases the institution does undoubtedly offer a temptation to the weakness and selfishness of the more degraded parents, a temptation to dump their children upon charity to be cared for during the helpless years, and to be retaken easily when the children are old and strong enough to earn—a temptation which is proportioned to the size and publicity of the institution and the ease of entrance and egress it allows. On the other hand, the change that often comes to a child of degraded parentage who has been placed even temporarily in a good home, and is then withdrawn from it by the natural parents, occasions a tragedy of experience.

Two seemingly antagonistic moral directions seem given to us in dealing with dependent children. The first we may define as follows: Do nothing for the seeming good of one child which can lessen that pressure of personal parental responsibility which is the surest protection of most children and the deep root of social helpfulness toward all children. The other direction is contained in the saying of Pestalozzi, "Every human being has a claim to a judicious development of his faculties by whoever has the care of his infancy." Between these two directions we must cautiously and tentatively steer. Never sure that we are not making mistakes; but holding ourselves ever true to the three-fold devotion of securing the welfare of the child, of respecting the sanctity of the family, and of developing true social order.

Omitting reference to wayward children, since they are to be specially treated, let us go still deeper into the fundamental question

of how to lessen the number of dependent, neglected and abandoned children.

"If you want to reform a man," says Emerson, "you must begin with his grandfather." If you want to radically help these children just named, I would add, you must begin with those who naturally become the parents of such children. Suppose that in all enlightened communities we have secured the protective legislation we have indicated, and that we have established proper educational facilities for the wisest use of the early years of every child's life. We have, for instance, the kindergarten, and the primary and grammar schools with the manual training attachments which both need in order to fit them to minister to the educational demands of the average and normal child. Then what do we see? In every public school are to be found not only some children above the average in physical or mental or moral endowment, but also not a few below that average. Every public school teacher of experience knows of the "dropped" or stationary boys and girls, the dull, the stupid, the wrongly adjusted, the partially abnormal children, who cannot keep up with the school procession. From this class of children often come the vicious and wayward who finally enter our reform schools. Yet none of them are subjects for special institutions as we find them in the school. They are simply below par. Now follow these children out from their discouraged or rebellious school life and they are usually the ones who drop or lag behind in all life's races. They are the material out of which the parents are chiefly made who pour their children out upon society to be nourished and cared for by charity.

Again, look at all our institutions, state and private, in which dependent children are found, and we see the "melancholy residuum" which all students of such institutions know so well,—the melancholy residuum of children not physically or mentally or morally strong, the children whom no one wants to adopt, and for whom 'good boarding places even are difficult to find; the children whose bodies and minds and wills are alike insufficient for life's demands. Those children, when they at last leave the shelter of the institution, are the ones who come back upon the state and society for further care later on, often bringing with them troops of children after their own kind.

I believe that the next great movement in child-helping is to be taken through more discriminating and varied educational develop-

ment given to these partially defective, undertoned children,—given to them not in institutions but in the public school, and while leaving them in their own natural homes. In our public schools the provisions are all fitly and rightly made to suit the need of the average child. It is coming to be seen that the child who is above the average in mental capacity should not be held back for the others to catch up, and that the average child accidentally fallen behind by reason of illness should be especially helped so as not to lose his proper place. And for these children a special teacher is now assigned in many of our New England grammar and high schools to care individually for their interests.

What is needed now is a special teacher, or as many as may be required, not only in every grammar, but in every primary school, to give special help to the dull and partially defective. Such teachers should be not only trained in the normal schools, but should have received a course of instruction in a school for the feeble-minded, and have learned something of the methods of moral training used by the best teachers in reform schools. For they would have to deal with organizations which require very exceptional treatment. I cannot enlarge upon this subject. No treatment of the topic of our section, however, can be complete that does not touch upon the vital need of lessening by all possible means the number of children who are partially defective in body, mind and moral sense, the children who inevitably grow up to become parents of offspring for whom they cannot properly care. I believe that such extension of our public school facilities as would lift this class of children, as they might be lifted, by special attention, into a condition of nearly if not quite average capacity and power, would be the best child-helping investment society could make.

I thus lay stress on these educational matters because I believe that what we do for needy children of every class in ways that do not set them apart from other children, or separate them from their own homes, are the only things that are thoroughly well done. Everything else that we do, whether it be to put them into an institution, however excellent, or even into some other family, however good, is a makeshift and only justified by gravest emergency. The supervision of the tenement-houses after Octavia Hill's plan, the "friendly visiting" of the charity organization societies, the college settlements with their neighborhood kindness, the "home libraries" with their "rays of sunshine in a dark place," the helpful calls of the

free kindergartners upon their little pupils, the working girls' and boys' clubs, the vacation and evening schools, the day nurseries, the numberless agencies of helpfulness which are now strengthening the child-saving work, these are all on the best of lines. I plead here for a mighty increase of such work for children in their own birth-homes.

I would not forget the needs of the aged and the sick and the criminal and the more hopelessly defective in mind or senses. But the young life that is quite equal to the average, or might be made so with more specialized training, the young life that only needs something of the care we all would give our own children to be able to hold a noble and strong place in the struggles of the adult, this young life has the most sacred claim of all upon all of us. I do not begrudge the higher institutions of learning their gifts and endowments by generous millionaires, but I do plead for the children to whom the pittance only of the lower school training is or can be given, that they may have packed into that pittance all of wisdom in teaching, and munificence of equipment, that the brief years can hold.

Social responsibility toward child-life demands then, first and in general, the accepted obligation of all adult strength and wisdom and virtue to supplement the immediate parental care in the case of every needy child, and in the way which shall prove most in harmony with the modern political, domestic and industrial ideals.

It demands, second, and in particular, the legal protection of every child from cruelty, outrage and willful neglect; the compulsory use of the first twelve years of every child's life for educational purposes only, and that of the most varied and wisely adjusted kinds.

And third, it demands the social application of every device that can be discovered to bring the backward and incompetent "up to grade," and fit the "least of these" for life's demands. Finally, the ideal set before us in our work for all classes of needy children must be to give the social uplift to all the conditions surrounding them, so that in charity as in the family, "the little child shall lead" toward the salvation of the race.

The CHAIRMAN.—We have the great pleasure of having with us one who has spoken already in one of the section meetings, M. PROSPER VAN GEERT, of Antwerp, Belgium, who will now address you on the care of abandoned children in his country.

M. VAN GEERT then read the following paper :

ABANDONED CHILDREN IN ANTWERP.

M. PROSPER VAN GEERT, BUREAU DE BIENFAISANCE, ANTWERP.

Section 2 of the Act of July 30, 1834, places abandoned children under the charge of the Charity Committee,* and although the above-named act has been cancelled by the subsequent law of March 14, 1876, section 43, the obligations of the Charity Committee have not been altered.

Abandoned children (see the imperial decree of January 19, 1811) are those who, born of father and mother who are known to have brought them up, or brought up by other persons having them in charge, have subsequently been left alone, the persons who had them in charge having disappeared, and no call upon the parents being possible.

It would seem that such a definition could only refer to parents having absconded from their natural obligations by flight. This is not so, however. It has been decided (see royal decree of November 22, 1861) that an asylum may receive children although the place of residence of the parents be known since the beginning. In fact, it is concluded that in using the expression "when no call upon the parents is possible," the law has meant an "efficacious" call, the effect of which would be to put an end to the necessity of supporting the child. And in consequence of this interpretation, children whose parents were at the hospital or in prison have been admitted ever since the law has been in force.

Wishing to work according to the true spirit of charity, our committee has also decided that after a special decision of the Council of Directors, the Board could admit all abandoned children.

The tutorship over children abandoned by their parents is regu-

* The Charity Boards were created by the decree of 7th Frimaire, year V of the French Republic (November, 1796), after the incorporation of the Belgian provinces. The Charity Boards have charge of outdoor relief (including medical) and abandoned children. The Charity Board is placed under the guidance of five directors, appointed by the town authorities, out of a double list of candidates presented by the Charity Board itself. The directors are appointed for a term of five years. In addition to the five directors, the burgo-master is *ex-officio* a member and chairman of the Board. He performs these functions, however, only in exceptional circumstances. The Board chooses a president and secretary from its own number, and appoints also committees on outdoor relief, medical assistance, and abandoned children.

lated by the act or decree of 15th-25th Pluiose, year XIII (February 4-14, 1805). One of the members of the directing committee is to be the tutor, the others forming the family council. The tutorship is merely temporary, and lasts only until the return of the parents. A law should be enacted taking this tutorship from the parents by a decision of court, after consultation with the Charity Board, and transmitting the same tutorship to a member of that Board.

As matters stand now, all is vague and the greatest conflicts are possible. For instance, the reimbursement of the sums spent in supporting the child is admitted in case of return of the parents, according to the text of the act of January 19, 1811, section 21. Everything remains to be done in that quarter. However, in the meanwhile we have gone forward as far as possible.

We have studied what could be done for abandoned children, opinions having widely differed on that subject. Section 9 of the decree of January 19, 1811, directs that children over six years of age be bound apprentices to countrymen and artisans, as far as may be found possible. Besides being far from possible, this is barbarous; for who would think of sending a child of six to the workshop or the plough?

Several members have expressed a wish to see the children sent into family life in the country under the supervision of an inspector. That was the old system and has its supporters even now. A very good pamphlet was published on the subject by the honorable alderman of finances of the city of Ghent. But experience has taught us that this system could lead to nothing but one vast swindle. Besides, how could the moral education of the children, which is most important, be looked to if you lose sight of them?

Others were for sending them into the country to our farmers. This was better, no doubt, but you cannot make a farmer out of every child; moreover, the instruction to be found in the rural schools is far from answering the desiderata of our Board. Supervision, too, is difficult.

It has therefore been necessary to make a call upon the resources of modern society to find the best system. Up to the age of twelve the child is now left in charge of the teacher. Asylums are to be built for such children, where they can find family life and go to school every day just like the children of our working people. These asylums will have to be double: one for girls, another for boys. The asylum for girls will also accept girls over twelve years of age, and

the children will be kept there until some situation is found for them outside. In the meantime all the occupations of a woman of the people will be taught them, as sewing, knitting, washing, ironing and cooking. A nursery will be opened for babes less than four years old. According to physical strength the girls will consequently be trained as cooks, chambermaids, nurses, washerwomen or seamstresses. All the work is done at the establishment, so that the girls will find complete instruction, as well as the example of greatest economy, which will be the rule at the asylum.

After school-years are past trades are taught. A baking establishment is now in existence, as well as a shoemaker's shop, where the shoes for all the boys and girls are made. Moreover, the shoemaker also works for his own account, even for families in town. We now possess about a thousand houses in the city as property of our fund; we have, therefore, opened a joiner's, a painter's and a plumber's workshop to keep them in repair. In every workshop we have placed two, three or four boys, living there with the master and thus finding family life. In the evening the boys go to the schools for adults; on Sundays they repair to what we call the "Patronages," so that they are learning their trade and finishing their book instruction at the same time. We have, moreover, come into connection lately with the Ostend school for sailor boys, and with the military authorities, so that we hope thus to find two more outlets by the training of sailors or soldiers, for instance, when some of our boys are sons of shippers, or when, through circumstances over which we have no control, other boys may have had no time for learning a trade and express a wish to join the army.

Last, not least, and to crown the work, the plans have now been adopted for the creation of a large model farm at Schilde, near Antwerp, with lands covering an area of about 200 acres, so that those amongst our boys who are not willing to become artisans will have a chance of being excellent husbandmen one day, capable of turning to profit the numerous rural possessions belonging to the Charity Board. The farm, moreover, will yield all the usual products of our soil for the use of our charity institutions and of our poor in general; so the Charity Board will become a kind of collectivity managed by *all* for the profit of *all*, to the greatest benefit of those dependent on it, and causing the least expense possible to those who are obliged to maintain it.

Such in rough outline is the provision for abandoned children in Antwerp.

Through it all appears a new principle, which we feel must be put forward here. For, indeed, the Antwerp Charity Board has been the first to introduce farming into its system. A committee of patronesses has been formed, who undertake the supervision and economy of our two institutions. The care of a good father would not suffice in this instance, and woman's help is called for. Here, in the slow work of forming the child's character, woman can, if she will, show all the devotion she is capable of, together with her full power of educative and household management. At Antwerp a beginning was made—five ladies, the directors' wives, being added to the board, together with another lady member, the wife of one of our colleagues of the Asylums Board, noted for her devotion and compassionate nature. Moreover, the burgomaster's wife was elected honorary president. This committee will require to be extended considerably, so that we may be able to find as many good situations as possible for our pupils.

Meanwhile the Charity Board has the greatest hope of seeing this innovation crowned with success.

The CHAIRMAN.—We have the great pleasure of having with us this evening Signora ZAMPINI SALAZAR, who will tell us about the care of abandoned children in her country.

Signora SALAZAR then read the following paper :

ABANDONED CHILDREN IN ITALY.

FANNY ZAMPINI SALAZAR.

This subject is a very sad one in my beautiful fatherland. We have not yet proper laws to defend the innocents ; I may even assert that they are legally unprotected, because the law seems organized for such cases in a way to encourage the worst immorality and injustice. In fact, the recognition of paternity is not allowed, and if a poor girl is led to believe in love, even with promises of marriage (as happens most frequently), she may be excused if, deserted by her false lover, she kills her illegal offspring, on the ground that she did it to defend her honor.

If she wishes to give her own name to her unfortunate child, she cannot do it without the consent of her parents, unless she is of age. But such misfortunes happen commonly in early youth ; so a poor girl, not succeeding in obtaining from her parents their consent to

legalize her shame, has to choose only between its death or the foundling hospital for the child. She has no right to claim justice for it or for herself from the brute who abused her feelings to satisfy his passions.

She can, if she has means, hide her child and provide for it; but then it has no legal position in society, no name at all; it is an out-cast. She may never recognize it; for to do so, she must be proved so many years older than it as to have been of age when it was born. She may recognize it then, if the father married her and both declared it was their own.

Again, we have no law of divorce; and unfortunately marriages not always being happy ones, established on mutual love and esteem, frequent legal separations take place. Such people seldom remain faithful to the marriage vows, and very often the separated couple live in secret or open illegal relation with another companion. This, of course, happens more frequently among the lower classes, and refers mostly to men. Women all over the world can more easily control their passions, especially when properly trained in respectable families. If children are born from these illegal unions, the law does not allow them to be recognized by their parents, who have in such cases, also, either to kill or send to the foundling hospital their illegal offspring. For them it is quite dangerous to keep the children, even hidden, for if the husband or the wife could legally prove the adultery of the unfaithful separated one, this man or woman would be publicly judged and condemned of adultery, for which fault imprisonment and fines are inflicted on the culprit.

The only children legally recognized, besides those born of marriage, are those born of unmarried parents, openly united, or those belonging to a married woman living with her husband or not notoriously separated from him. The Italian law establishes the rule that the child belongs to the man who is the legal husband of the mother, even when not its father. Unmarried men or women, if of age, may legally recognize their children, if born of an unmarried companion. Should the latter be married, they have not the right, even if free themselves, to legalize it. It is an outlawed child. Thousands and thousands of such innocents are then, except in most rare cases, abandoned children.

For such the state, the provinces, public and private charity, provide, supporting a large number of foundling hospitals, which receive the babies as soon as they are born and have the care of

them till they are seven years old. At this age orphanages receive them, give them elementary instruction and train them in some manual trade. At about eighteen or twenty they are launched alone on the world's rough sea. They never had the sacred influence of home life, no family affections refined their feelings, so it is not rare that the girls make moral shipwrecks, and that the young men give the largest contingent to delinquency, moral degeneration and vice of all sorts. Indeed, for these very frequent cases reformatories are established, and young people kept in them for some time leave these institutions very often still more deeply learned in all vices.

The noble minds of our most eminent philanthropists and legislators have lately been studying the arduous problem of abandoned children to give it a humanitarian solution. Homes for abandoned children, leagues to protect, educate, train them in some profession, have been started, some of which work out very admirably their holy programme. One of our most important and widely read daily papers, the *Tribuna*, in Rome, opened some time ago quite a campaign in favor of neglected or abandoned children, and with its influence accomplished a very worthy humanitarian work. Francesco Crispi, the great Italian patriot and statesman, was the promoter of one of our finest institutions in Rome for abandoned children. It is called after the name of *Savoia*, and all people of heart are greatly interested in it.

In Genoa a modest but great philanthropist, Garaventa, rescues abandoned children, keeping them in a hospice organized for them in an old ship in that port. There he lovingly takes care of them, elevates their feelings through his kindness, teaches them the elements of culture and the sailor's art, fully believing in the power of moral and physical regeneration that lies in affectionate care and the pure atmosphere of the sea. He often succeeds by means of the child in saving the mother from sin, and his work is one of the noblest. It was lately taken as the subject of a lecture by one of our cleverest lecturers, Luigi Arnaldo Vassallo, who raised for this institution and its modest promoter a great and real enthusiasm throughout Italy.

In Naples the Princess D'Abro Pagratide di Villamarina, a most refined, intelligent young woman, with the help of her husband, one of our finest dilettante painters, and a group of ladies and gentlemen belonging to the higher social classes, established at Posillipo an institution for orphan and abandoned children.

Good priests and charitable nuns do also a great deal for these unfortunates. A Franciscan monk, Padre Ludovico da Cassoria, one of the greatest Christians I ever met, did a great work in Naples, rescuing as many abandoned beggar boys as he could meet, and instituted a home for them and a hospital for the weak and sick ones just on the shore at Posillipo, where a marble monument to his memory was lately erected. In the home the little beggars found all they wanted, kind care, proper food, and a training to become printers. Now the little beggars' printing establishment is well known and patronized by many writers, and the home prospers, receiving always as many abandoned or orphan children as it can contain. Another charitable institution was, through many difficulties, established in Naples by Domenico Martuscelli, for poor, abandoned, deaf and dumb children. He provides for all their wants, loves them, and has them taught in various industries. Most remarkable in Naples is the hospital for children established and attended daily with motherly care by our eminent Duchess Teresa of Ravaschieri.

In Turin, Milan, nay, in most of our Italian provinces, we have also wonderfully prosperous institutions for poor and abandoned children. Indeed, in Italy very much is done to compensate for the injustice of the law and the cruelty of fate toward poor children destitute of all love and care. Sometimes, but not always, however, such care prevents them, when left to themselves in early youth, from falling into the many snares of sin and evil. Rarely they turn out well, as nothing can substitute the ennobling influences of home life. Charitable institutions, orphanages, homes, can never replace for the poor, abandoned children a true mother's love and care.

One of our youngest but most rising deputies of Parliament, Emmanuele Gianturco, now named Vice-Minister of Justice in Rome, lately asserted that it was not fair to spend so much money and care on the abandoned children, when so many poor parents do not always find help and assistance for their legal offspring. So he proposed some months ago a law for the recognition of paternity to legally oblige parents to provide for their children's wants and social position. The fact that this law was much opposed by several deputies shows a low moral standard, but through the influence of the best amongst them it was admitted to examination. All honest people trust that through the high position he has now attained, Emmanuele Gianturco will be enabled to obtain this important law.

It should pass and be established throughout Italy, for the protection of the innocents, and as a just control and punishment of immorality.

The introduction of a law legalizing divorce, when serious motives allow a legal separation to take place, would greatly improve our social standard of morality and diminish the large number of abandoned children of adultery, once they could be legally recognized by their parents. But here again a very strong opposition is made even on religious grounds, as the Roman Catholic Church pardons adultery, but never would allow a second marriage to take place unless after the death of one of the parties. Not only law, but social prejudices also often prevent parents from taking proper care of their illegal offspring. The only reparation such parents can make is to care for, love, and educate their offspring, suffering humbly the scorn of happier people who have not been led into temptation, or have had the self-control and moral strength to resist the promptings of the heart or of their human instincts, often both conspiring together. To insure this strength, a proper cultivation of the feelings is necessary, or deep religious faith, and a spirit of self-sacrifice. But rarely in Italy have such seeds been sown in the hearts of those sinners, and how could they grow spontaneously? Confession is commonly practised, but then confessors pardon such faults over and over again until they become quite a habit.

In this great land of liberty, from these important and most interesting international congresses, in which so many eminent men and cultivated women participate, it is right that powerful voices should rise in behalf of children. It is cruel, unjust, that so many children should be deprived of a parent's care and looked down upon, when to those who gave them life so rashly, abandoning them immediately afterwards to hide their fault, the doors of society remain wide open. Our society in Italy still considers estimable and worthy those who bow to its conventional laws. I have at times wondered how good mothers can give their pure, young, fresh daughters in marriage to men who, having led an immoral life, have abandoned to the foundling hospitals the very brothers and sisters of the little ones on whom, afterwards, they bestow so much love and care. These same good mothers, from a false principle of purity, would never lend a helping hand to an unfortunate one when she keeps her child and wishes to work honestly to support it. If poor, then, it is not strange that, feeling all doors shut in her face, she is

obliged to go on sinning, and many in Italy so live, so sadly, only to provide for the wants of an abandoned child. But the time has come, I think, when a change for the better should take place, and life, with the great, solemn, natural laws on which it rests, should be lived in the pure realm of truth.

It is not law that can alter or change customs; it is humanity itself that must rise to a higher, nobler conception of life and of its sacred duties. When society shall have established on truth her laws and customs, she will equally receive all children, nor ask them how they came into this world, but only require them to live in it good and proper lives. Christ never asked if the children who came to his loving arms were the offspring of blessed or unhappy love. He called them all to his heart, because all were pure in their innocence. So, happy mothers should feel for the unhappy ones, and a sacred league should be established between them for the sake of the little children. The pure blessed mothers who can boast of their children as the noblest crown of their lives would help in this way their unfortunate sisters to rise above their sin, instead of unconsciously encouraging them by scorn to hide their errors, and so increasing the large number of abandoned children all over the world—so many of them in fair, sunny Italy.

The CHAIRMAN.—We will now gladly hear from a gentleman whom many of you know by reputation, Hon. C. D. RANDALL, of Michigan.

Mr. RANDALL then read the following paper:

IMPORTATION OF DEPENDENT CHILDREN FROM OTHER STATES.

C. D. RANDALL, COLDWATER, MICHIGAN.

In my remarks on the able paper read by Mrs. Spencer I will confine myself to one point. There was a discussion day before yesterday, in a section meeting devoted to children, in which the question arose as to the policy of a federation of societies for placing children in homes, as compared with separate action by each state.

I can best illustrate my views in this matter by reference to the Michigan theory, law and practice. Some years ago I was requested by the Board of Corrections and Charities of Michigan to draft a bill for presentation to our legislature, prohibiting the bringing of

dependent children into Michigan. My opinion was that it could not be done under our constitution. About the same time such a bill was introduced into the legislature of Illinois. I do not know whether the bill became law. The bill seemed to me to be of doubtful constitutionality; you might regulate but not prohibit. But I thought the question was one of too much importance to rest satisfied with my own impressions, and I submitted it to two eminent jurists, Judge C. I. Walker, of Detroit, for some years president of the Michigan State Board of Corrections and Charities, and Judge Thomas M. Cooley, the distinguished law writer and late president of the Inter-State Commerce Commission. These gentlemen sent me carefully written opinions. Judge Walker was clearly of the opinion that prohibition was unconstitutional. Judge Cooley gave as decided an opinion on the other side. I then drafted the bill on the basis of regulation, and it was enacted by our legislature and continues to be the law of our state.

The theory of this law is that state lines are no barrier to a child coming into the state, whatever be its condition as to poverty; that no one can be prevented from bringing into the state for indenture or adoption a dependent child. The state of Michigan does not desire to prevent children coming into the state. But while we say this, we also say to all who bring in dependent children, "If you bring such children to us, singly or by the carload, you must place them in families in the same way in which we require our public authorities to place them." Is not that reasonable? We say, "You must do as we do." And what is that? The State Public School or any other public institution placing children in families must do several things, as follows:

First. The proposed home must be visited and reported on by a county agent of the Board of Corrections and Charities. The report must show the people to be of good character, respectable, able to support and educate the child, and that they do not use or sell intoxicating liquor as a beverage; and the agent must certify generally that the home is a good one for the child.

Second. If the child is placed in the home, there must be a written contract, which among other things provides for good treatment as a member of the family; for education in the public schools at least four months in each year; for teaching the child some useful trade or occupation; and for the payment of a sum agreed on when the child reaches majority, payable to the child when of age; and the con-

tract contains a clause that it may be cancelled if the foster-parents do not execute the same as agreed.

Third. The third essential is that the state shall keep supervision of the child during minority by reports from the county agent, the foster-father, and a state agent who visits all the children.

The law of Michigan requires all societies or persons bringing children into the state to do these three things: the home shall be approved by the county agent; there shall be a written contract like the above; and there shall be state supervision of the child during minority. That law was enacted in Michigan some eight years ago, and since then there has been little if any importation of dependent children into Michigan. A few months ago some society brought a carload of dependent children into the state, not knowing, I presume, the law. It was brought to the attention of the gentlemen in charge and the children were removed. We are told that a society has branches in Michigan which places quite young children there. That is all right if the law is obeyed. If the law is disobeyed, the offender has made himself liable to punishment by fine or imprisonment for committing a misdemeanor. This, then, is our theory, law and practice: bring your dependent children into Michigan; but we will protect the children by requiring that they shall be placed in good approved homes and on a written contract, etc.; otherwise we will punish you. There seems to be no good reason why non-resident societies should not comply with this most humane and righteous law for the protection of children. They may say that they put them in approved homes. But we say we shall select judges and supervisors of these homes.

The life, the character and the future of the little child depend upon whether it shall find a loving and motherly woman who will tenderly receive the homeless waif as almost her own, and whether there be a foster-father who will have the child's love and respect, and who will be a pattern worthy of imitation. The *argumentum ad hominem* here is a good one: would you not require such a home if the child were your own?

It has been claimed that local societies can be organized in the state to avoid our laws. I seriously doubt whether this can be done. If we find our law defective in this respect, we shall have it amended so that it will cover all such branches of non-resident societies. But we do not expect to have the Michigan system complete until we require all private and sectarian institutions to become incorporated

under a general law which will require them to submit to state visitation, supervision and control in reference to their custody and disposition of dependent and delinquent children.

The CHAIRMAN.—Before calling upon the Hon. ROBERT TREAT PAINE, who is the last speaker on our programme, I shall ask Miss CATHERINE H. SPENCE, who is a member of the State Children's Council of South Australia, to tell us something of the care of children in her far-away, progressive and most interesting country. •

Miss SPENCE.*—It is extremely difficult to speak briefly when I have felt such a great rush of ideas during the reading of the papers and speeches of this evening. To Mrs. Spencer I am especially indebted for her eloquent address. It is a revelation to me and there are great possibilities of suggestion in it.

Mr. Randall's statement of the un wisdom of sending children out into any state without proper investigation and supervision shows how careful we ought to be; but the meagre requirements of the state of Michigan with regard to schooling, that the children must be sent to school for four months, is something we would not be satisfied with in Australia. There we require that all children shall attend thirty-five days of every quarter, equal to twenty-eight weeks per year.

Mrs. Spencer certainly touched the root of the matter when she said that we must, if possible, improve the parents, and thus improve the stock from which the children come.

It is true that parents who are quite willing to send their children to an industrial school where they can see them once a month, or where they can reclaim them when they become of value, look upon the matter in a very different light when you send them to another family, to be loved by another family, to be serviceable to another family; and they will make some effort, therefore, to keep the children at home.

Of course, the difficulty is, as Mrs. Spencer says truly, when the children have parents and the parents are wicked or incompetent. I think that in Australia, and especially in Victoria, there is a great deal more overriding of the rights of parents for the child's good than I fancy you democratic Americans would agree to; because if

* The original brief remarks of Miss SPENCE at this general session were afterwards extended by her to the present form at the request of the editors of this volume.

there is any principle that Australia has taken firm hold of, it is that the interests of the child shall be paramount.

There is perhaps no community in the world that has grasped the problem of dependent and delinquent children more thoroughly than the Australian colonies have done. This branch of public relief has unconsciously come to be regarded as rather educational than charitable work. All over the island continent, and in Tasmania and New Zealand as well, each government accepts the position of parental guardian to those children who through orphanhood, destitution, parental neglect or individual delinquency fall into its custody. Each government in its collective capacity has decided that the best thing to be done for each little waif is to find for it a home and a mother; and if that home and that mother are satisfactory, to keep it there till the age for earning a livelihood is reached. The reform was initiated in South Australia twenty-one years ago, and the successful experiment was imitated by the other colonies after longer or shorter intervals, and with some differences in details of administration, which are valuable as proving which are the best methods.

Thus the barrack-like institutions have been emptied, and only a central receiving depot maintained, to which children are committed pending the selection of a suitable home, and to which children may be returned if the home needs to be changed. Instead of large schools—misnamed industrial—we have the children dispersed in ordinary homes, going to public schools with other children, and learning the ordinary duties, enjoying the ordinary pleasures and excitements of life, generally in country homes, near to school, church and Sunday school.

The movement owes its birth to the zeal and energy of Miss Emily Clark, niece of Sir Rowland Hill, the postoffice reformer, and cousin of the Misses Davenport Hill, well known in philanthropic circles, who are now working hard for natural homes for workhouse children in England.

We recollect the great wave of justice and common sense, protesting against the herding of dependent children among adult paupers, which led to the building of great district schools, where children could be kept apart from these failures, and fed, lodged and taught together. An improvement, no doubt, on the old enormity; but the massing together of hundreds of children of low physical and moral calibre, daily reinforced from the streets, the gutter and the brothel,

never breathed on by the gracious influence of the home or the inspiring emulation of the ordinary school, never individualized, never mothered, only drilled and marched, trained in routine obedience and conventional manners, was the poorest preparation for the varied duties and the serious responsibilities of life.

Scotland, indeed, had in great part dispersed her poorhouse children into country homes; for the governor of Edinburgh jail had noted that children from the poorhouse drifted into prison in alarming numbers, and he stirred up ministers and laymen to press on the authorities the experiment of well-selected, well-supervised country homes, and was successful. In Ireland Protestant orphans had been dealt with in this way for a long time, but England took no note of these examples. She built the great schools and stuffed them, and these white elephants are the great obstructions to reform now.

In South Australia an industrial school was to be built, when Miss Clark and others, including myself, tried to persuade the authorities to try the Scottish and Irish plan, offering to find homes and visitors by means of a central and branch committees. The proposal was rejected; the stock argument was brought forward that the children would be starved and ill-treated—"Look at *Oliver Twist*!" The school was built, matron, teachers, and attendants engaged, and it became so popular that in two or three years it was so full that a new wing was needed.

Miss Clark and her friends again applied for permission to deal with the overflow, and this time we were successful. The applications for children, both on subsidy and for adoption, were so numerous that the school was nearly emptied ere long, and very soon attention was called to the improvement in the children and the economy to the finances through the change, and we had visitors and inquiries from the other colonies. It was easier to make a beginning in South Australia than elsewhere, for when, in 1852, our first Legislature stopped all grants for denominational churches, it also decreed that no public money should be given for denominational schools, whether educational merely or charitable as well. Thus South Australia offered the least resistance to the reform; and it seemed to depend on the strength of the subsidized schools in the other colonies whether the change should be easy or difficult. The economic saving, however, made it acceptable to Parliament; and as appointments are not made on party or political lines, there has been no opposition in Australia such as I hear is made in America, when

institutions are threatened, that a valuable branch of patronage is in jeopardy. In some subsidized orphanages in Victoria a large proportion of the children are boarded out now, which shows that even institutions can learn something.

The Scotch system depends entirely on paid official inspectors, and, I believe, still works satisfactorily; but all over Australia the co-operation of volunteers has been secured, so that the cost of supervision is lessened, and the system is far more popular than if it were merely official. There is not a dissentient voice in Australia as to the method being wise and successful. And the reformatory treatment of young offenders, who by the elastic system carried out can be transferred to the industrial side and given a foster home or a service home when he or she is ready for it, has also been successful, so that with an increasing population we have a decreasing criminal list.

Such families as the Jukes, so powerfully described by the late Dr. Dugdale; such tribes as that of Ishmael, traced so carefully by the lamented Oscar McCulloch, can never curse us in Australia. By getting hold of the children we strike the most effective blow at the hereditary pauper, criminal and lunatic, the curse of modern civilization. Dr. Dugdale says: "The worst thing in evil heredity is that it perpetuates evil environment. The real taint and curse of illegitimacy is that it generally leads to a neglected childhood." Experience in working over twenty years among these children in South Australia satisfies me that environment is a more important factor than heredity. We are apt to talk of heredity as if we only inherited our ancestors' diseases, vices and evil passions. We inherit more: we inherit faculties they did not use, and recuperative powers they did not exert. Each child, too, is born into a somewhat different world, with somewhat different opportunities from his parents; and if we do not herd low-typed children together, if we take the children of the slums into the sweetness and freshness of the country, away from the dirt and the knavery and the blasphemy they were born among, we shall find them developing faculties which were smothered in the pestiferous atmosphere of what was called their home. It is paralyzing to effort to look on heredity as accountable for all things evil and as an unconquerable enemy.

Where public funds are concerned there is a natural desire for economy, and many people have the idea that there ought to be as many childless families eager to adopt as there are children needing

a home. But we have not found this the case even with children really orphaned ; whereas the bulk of our state children are those of unworthy parents. If you wait till these children are taken for nothing, you will either keep your institutions full or you will expose the child to the danger of being exploited. In my own experience the adopting foster-parents are not always the best, though these children may be better dressed. Sometimes more indulged than is good for them, sometimes more repressed, their development was often inferior to that of children mixing with other children in a subsidized home. We have all over Australia a proportion of children who are really adopted, but we never lose hold of them. Sometimes the foster-parents tire of them, or they do not get on well together, and they are returned and sent to another home, either for boarding-out, or if older, for service. The great abuse under the English Poor Law was the hard-and-fast apprenticeship ; the oppressed child could not escape ; the dissatisfied master or mistress could not get rid of an incompetent or refractory servant. The great merit of our Australian methods is their elasticity.

A limitation which cripples effort for boarding-out in the United States is that the authorities, when persuaded to subsidize good homes, stop payment at the age of ten, on the ground that a child's services are worth its keep and care after that age ; but in Australasia, as regular school attendance—not for four months in the year, but for the whole year through—is compulsory and enforced by law, the colonial governments lay down the rule that all through the school age the foster-parents must be compensated. Children's aid societies here often make up by private contributions for the shortcomings of the local taxpayers, as in Boston and Philadelphia ; but why should not the whole thing be done rightly, when it is for the good of the community to keep a child in one good home ?

Local bodies are not so much alive as the collective conscience of the whole people to the fact that there is nothing so costly to the world as a ruined life.

South Australia was for fourteen years served by a boarding-out committee, working under and helping the destitute board (an unpaid body of gentlemen, with a paid chairman and official staff), and aided by over a hundred visitors, nearly all ladies, who visited the children regularly at their boarded-out and service homes so long as they were in the care of the destitute department. That was until sixteen for boys and eighteen for girls. Seven years ago the care of the children of

the state was given to a State Children's Council, appointed by government, consisting of five gentlemen and seven ladies, all unpaid, but with an official secretary, inspectors and staff.

New South Wales has a council, which, however, does not deal with the reform schools, only with dependent children subsidized and at service. Victoria has no council, but a very strong central department, and she has organized the most efficient county committees of all the colonies, who save the department a great deal of clerical work as well as inspectorial work. But in no case do the colonial departments leave all inspection to volunteers. Efficient supervision is the key of the situation.

Some people think that once they put a child in a home all is well. There are homes and homes, some good and some bad. Some very good homes do not suit some children; some children need to be tried in several before they take root and do well. The rate of subsidy paid all over the Australian colonies for a healthy child over two years old is five shillings a week, or one dollar and twenty cents, paid quarterly. Infants and sickly or afflicted children are paid for at a higher rate. This pays for board, lodging, clothing and care. Medical attendance is provided by doctors paid by the destitute and the state children's departments all over the settled parts of the colony. Our supervision is threefold:—

1. No child is placed out of the reach of a visitor or a visiting committee, who must see the child, the foster-mother and the home once in six weeks, or in three months, according to the regulations in each colony, and report thereon.

2. The teacher of the school must fill in a report once in three months as to how many days the child has been absent, and whether it was punctual, clean, well-behaved, and looked happy. A specimen of the handwriting is inclosed, and the mention of the grade made. If the child is absent more than five days in the quarter, the foster-parent is warned that if this continues the child will be removed.

3. The official inspector sees the child and the home twice a year.

Besides these checks, there is a strong public feeling on behalf of these children, and if there is any suspicion of cruelty or of privation, letters are sent to the department and inquiry is made. In service homes we have not the teacher's report, but the children can write, and do write, freely to the department if they have anything to complain of. Indeed, they often write to say how much they like their

places. The same visitors supervise the service boys and girls sent from foster-homes and those sent from the reform schools. In many cases the reformatory boys are preferred, for they are older and have had training in farm work. The reformatory girls are with us, as they are everywhere, the most difficult subjects, but on the whole our success has been fairly good with them.

We have no difficulty in finding enough homes for such pay and under such conditions. The good foster-mothers court inspection, the bad or indifferent dislike it. When parents are able to pay the whole or part of the cost of maintenance, the committing magistrate gives an order for it. Of the whole amount, a little over £12,000, which nearly a thousand children cost South Australia, there was a recoup of £1,600, or over a seventh to be subtracted. On hasty glance one would think that five shillings a week and cost of supervision would cost much more than that, but there are over two hundred children at service who need only supervision.

If space were allowed, I should like to tell how, by judicious outdoor relief to widows and deserted wives, the destitute board of South Australia has greatly lessened the number of children thrown on the state, and also the unique provisions for the protection of infant life carried on by that destitute board. But my subject was the work of the departments in Australia dealing with dependent and delinquent children, and especially the boarding-out system. We have all been busy working, but we have not created a literature, so that it is difficult to refer inquirers to any book on the subject; although Miss Florence Davenport Hill's *Children of the State*, in its new edition, gives a pretty full and correct account of the work done in Australia.*

The CHAIRMAN.—We shall now have the pleasure of hearing from one who surely needs no introduction to this audience, Hon. ROBERT TREAT PAINE, of Boston, Massachusetts.

Mr. PAINE.—I owe you an apology for daring to appear a second time before this distinguished company, and can only promise to be very brief. My text is wayward children and juvenile delinquents—to me, red rags to a bull.

Mrs. Spencer spoke of the duties which parents owe to their children and society has a right to require them to perform, but conversely it seems to me that society owes certain duties to the children

* See pages 37-46, 65-66 for further account of Australian methods of child-care.

of the masses of the people which parents have a right to call on society to perform. The indictment that I bring against society is that it places masses of poor children under such circumstances that it is almost inevitable that they should become dependent, or in some way pauper children, or should fall into one of those two classes of which the names are too hateful for me to repeat.

A few days ago the manager of property in a section of Boston called Grab Village and occupied by a very poor population, told me of a certain house that had just become vacant, and which the boys of that neighborhood had broken into three times, smashing the windows from day to day and stealing the lead pipe. "What shall I do?" said he; "the police are powerless. The numbers of the police are inadequate. I wish you would go to the chief of police and urge him to detail a larger force to this station, so that the patrolmen may be doubled and the criminals, the boys, caught." Here is a typical problem. We have in Boston cases coming before the Associated Charities from day to day where boys have grown up to be fourteen, fifteen or seventeen years of age. They do not work, they get into bad habits. Presently the police begin to watch them as they go down into every sort of degradation and criminal life. This is the problem. What is it that society owes to them? Shall I go home and tell that real estate agent to put the police upon the alert? Men all know the pleasure of hunting game and of bringing home a full bag. Is that the best idea that we can aim at? Shall we have the police made watchful, and rejoice if they can succeed in catching the boys and bring them to court, that they may be converted into juvenile offenders? God forbid. If the choice is between that house which is mine, and the boys, the lives of those boys and their welfare are worth infinitely more than the property.

Now what shall we do? There is the problem that confronts us as to hundreds and thousands and tens of thousands of boys. Let me answer. Some years ago I went to that same section of Boston on the invitation of a gentleman who had a class of boys on Sunday afternoon whom he was trying to influence. He asked me to come up and speak to them. He said, "They are pretty wild boys, there are no worse boys in Boston, but if you are ready to go we should like to have you." I went, and presently began to make a little address. They listened for a few moments, but soon became uneasy and then noisy. I soon saw they were going to get the upper hand of me. So I said, "Boys, this class would be more in place in the

open air, on the football ground. Do any of you play football?" There was a pause and nobody spoke, and I said, "Because if you do, we will have a football game," and as there were boys of different ages I said, "We will have two football games, one for the larger boys and one for the smaller. Yes, on the 30th day of April we will have two games of football." From that moment I had those boys absolutely under control, attentive to every word I said.

So there are two ways to deal with boys, the cowhide and the football,—jails, reformatories, prisons, and all those institutions, or playgrounds. In small towns every boy has a chance to play and give vent to his youthful passions and his fondness for sport, in his own way or at his own pleasure; but as cities grow larger what is there for boys? To be sure you have some beautiful playgrounds on the lake front here in Chicago. I went out to the park at the north end of the city the other day and boys were playing there, but not many. May I suggest that Chicago needs about twenty times as many playgrounds as she has to-day, and that is true substantially of every other city. We have allowed populations to grow dense, playgrounds are covered over, no provision has been made for the boys. We have got to see to making proper provision for them. A friend of mine says it is just as necessary for girls as for boys. Boston has made a vigorous move in this direction. Four years ago, under the auspices of the Associated Charities, a meeting was called in Boston to create an interest in open spaces and playgrounds. That movement has developed so rapidly that now local officials, the Common Council and Aldermen, are all of one mind, struggling to get playgrounds in their parts of the city. Last year a Metropolitan Park Commission was created. A million dollars has been appropriated to create reservations, open spaces and parks in different parts of the metropolitan district of Boston. I think nothing is more important for the welfare of the boys and girls, to save them from a criminal life, and give them an opportunity to grow up with that same splendid freedom which a generation ago we boys enjoyed. Nothing in my own boyhood compares with the pleasure which we boys used to get when we rushed from the Boston Latin School to the Common to have our hockey and football and cricket. We boys thought we owned Boston Common in those days, and I fear no adult crossed except at his peril.

Now the second point is manual training, and I have only a single word to say. I am not an expert upon this subject, and come merely

with certain thoughts in the direction of cutting off the supply of all this great mass of degraded life. Instead of devoting our thoughts unsuccessfully to the question of what we shall do with the crop, let us see if we cannot stop the growth. This thought is only beginning. I wish I could drive it into the deepest conviction of every one that hears these words, that the philanthropy which merely assuages the evils hinders the philanthropy which aims to remove the causes. Manual training works like magic in improving the conditions of life of the working people, but especially in its influence upon the boys who are inclined to go to the bad.

I should like to say a single word of the wonderful power of increasing the senses which the Almighty has given us. The most marvellous illustration that I know is the power of that little Helen Keller, the child who lacks three senses, blind, deaf and dumb, the wonderful power of touch which she has developed with her fingers. She is a little girl about twelve years old. Doubtless you all know about her. She came to my house a month ago to "see" a bust of Phillips Brooks. He had been very fond of her and she loved and admired him. He had been several times to the kindergarten for the blind and she had visited him once or twice in his own home. So she wanted very much to "see" his bust. She stood upon a table and felt the features, and my wife asked her if she observed anything wrong in the lines of the face. As she came to a certain part of the face she said it was not right. Was it not wonderful that within three minutes after she had begun to feel the bust she located a certain defect exactly where my wife and other critics had always thought there was one, though I have not been able to see it yet.

Is not that a beautiful illustration? But the power that manual training can have upon wild boys, the boys who are going to get into trouble, is also worthy of our closest attention. A little carpentry school for boys was started by Rev. Edward Everett Hale a dozen years ago, to bring in just this same wild, rough element, and to give them tools, hammer, chisel, gouge and saw. It was presently found that after those boys had been there a few weeks such a change came over the wildest of them that they were in demand among trades-people, and soon got good positions where they could support themselves and be a help to their family. Here then is a powerful remedy for wild and reckless boys, to keep them perhaps from idle, dissolute, or even criminal lives by this simple process of giving them manual training for their amusement or for their occupation.

I ought not to have spoken so long, and I only did so because I wanted to emphasize these two points that seem to me worthy of being repeated, even before this distinguished company.

Society owes it to the boys and girls of the poor growing up in our crowded cities, to give them ample playgrounds scattered through the territory where they live, so that innocent and healthful games may replace the present temptations to idle and criminal life; and also to add manual training to their schools, not only to increase the earning capacity of all the rising generation, but especially to attract towards a life of virtue a large percentage of the boys and girls for whom books are of no avail.

APPENDIX TO REPORT OF GENERAL SESSION.

PUBLIC CARE OF CHILDREN IN AUSTRALIA.

In addition to the remarks by Miss Spence (see pages 27-33), it will be of interest to insert here a condensed statement of the work of the State Children's Council of South Australia, of which Miss Spence is a member. References were made to the law under which this Council works and to its methods of administration, at several of the meetings of this section, which will be better understood by comparing them with this quotation from the publications of the State Children's Department of South Australia.

To this are added extracts from papers prepared by prominent workers in the line of care for dependent children in different parts of Australia, and given at the first and second Australasian Conferences on Charity held at Melbourne, 1890 and 1891. The world-wide interest now awakened by Australian experiments in the administration of public charities, and in other departments of political and social organization, makes this appendix timely and important.

REGULATIONS FOR THE PLACING-OUT AND SUPERVISION OF STATE CHILDREN IN SOUTH AUSTRALIA.

The State Children's Council may, under the Destitute Persons Act, 1886, apprentice, license for service, board out, or arrange for the adoption of any inmate of an industrial or reformatory school.

Persons wishing to take a state child under any of the above conditions, shall make application on the proper form to the secretary, accompanied by the certificate of a clergyman, magistrate, or other responsible person, as to the moral character and fitness of the applicant to be entrusted with the care and training of children.

No child shall be placed-out with any person who may be in receipt of government relief, or with any person holding a publican's license.

Relatives shall not have access to children placed-out, except in the case of a child becoming seriously ill, or, under special circumstances, with the sanction of the Council; but on application to the secretary, they may be informed

as to the health and general well-being of their children. All letters to and from children placed-out must be forwarded to the secretary, who will peruse them, and if he considers it undesirable to forward any letter, he may return it to the writer and report to the Council.

All children placed-out shall be taken regularly to a place of worship, and sent to a Sunday school, unless specially exempted by the Council.

Every child over the age of seven years placed-out shall be sent regularly to school every day until thirteen years old, unless he has passed the standard required by the Education Act before that age, or has been specially exempted by the Council.

All applications for children from persons resident within a district shall be made to the committee of such district.

Foster-parents and employers, whenever required by the visitor or an officer of the Council, shall produce the clothing of the child or children under their charge, in order that it may be compared with the inventory and its condition examined; and shall also give the visitor all information asked for, and allow every facility for a thorough inspection of the home and the child or children.

In the event of foster-parents neglecting in any way to do their duty towards a child placed with them and such neglect not being regarded by the Council as sufficiently serious to warrant the removal of the child, the Council may, as a punishment, deduct such portion of the amount due to such foster-parent as it considers will meet the case.

Should any child placed-out meet with an accident or become ill, medical aid shall be obtained without delay from the medical officer of the district, notice of the fact being sent to the secretary (who shall advise the parents) and to the visiting committee. Similarly, notice shall be given of the child's subsequent recovery or death.

Where there is no medical officer appointed, the child should be taken to a hospital; where this is impracticable, the services of the nearest doctor shall be obtained.

In the event of a child dying, notice shall be immediately sent to the secretary, and arrangements made by the foster-parent or employer for the burial of the body in a simple and decent manner, the account being forwarded to the Council for payment. The cost of the interment should not exceed three pounds.

In the event of any child absconding, the foster-parent or employer shall immediately give notice thereof at the nearest police station, and, if necessary, shall take steps for the issue of a warrant, in order that the child may be arrested and returned to his charge.

Foster-parents or employers wishing to resign the care of a child placed with them shall state a reason for doing so; and unless the reason is satisfactory, the cost of returning the child shall be borne by the foster-parent or employer. The Council will decide if the reason given is satisfactory or not.

The outfits supplied with children when placed out shall be kept in a state of efficiency by the foster-parents or employers (except in the case of licensed or apprenticed children placed under conditions requiring them to clothe themselves), and when a child is returned by or removed from a foster-parent or employer, the outfit shall be returned complete. In the case of boarded-out

children, the cost of any deficiency in the outfit may be deducted from any moneys due to the foster-parents by the Council.

No child placed out by the Council shall be transferred by a foster-parent or employer to any other person without the consent in writing of the Council.

Foster-parents and employers shall give two weeks' notice to the Council and to the visiting committee of their intention to change their residence, and at the same time state their new address.

The Council reserves the right to remove any child placed out at any time.

SPECIAL CONDITIONS FOR CHILDREN BOARDED-OUT.

1. Children who are to be boarded-out must be under thirteen years of age. The Council may, in cases of children who are diseased, ailing, or mentally or morally defective, continue the subsidy for such longer time as it considers desirable.

2. The subsidy to be paid by the Council for the maintenance of a child boarded-out shall not exceed five shillings per week, except in special cases.

3. Payments for maintenance of children boarded-out will be made quarterly, by the secretary, at the offices of the department or through the visiting committees.

Foster-parents will be required to sign the necessary acquittances on receiving sums due to them.

4. Not more than four state children shall be placed in one home, excepting under special circumstances approved by the Council.

5. No boarders or lodgers, other than the state children, may be received by foster-parents.

6. When children reach the age of seven years, separate sleeping accommodations shall be provided for boys and girls.

7. Children boarded-out must be properly fed and clothed (in accordance with Regulation 31), sent regularly to Sunday and day school, and trained up to be honest, truthful and modest, respectful to their teachers and others, and obedient to their foster-parents.

OUTFIT.

Boys.	Girls.
2 pairs boots,	2 pairs boots,
2 caps or hats,	2 hats,
2 suits clothes,	2 dresses,
3 shirts,	3 chemises,
2 nightshirts,	2 petticoats,
3 pairs socks,	2 flannel petticoats,
3 handkerchiefs,	2 pairs drawers,
1 pair braces,	2 flannel vests,
1 hairbrush, small and large comb,	2 nightdresses,
1 Bible or prayer book.	2 pinafores,
	3 handkerchiefs,
	1 jacket or ulster,
	3 pairs stockings,
	1 hairbrush, small and large comb,
	1 Bible or prayer book.

SPECIAL COURT FOR THE TRIAL OF CHILDREN.

The efforts made by the Council to complete the arrangements, which have been carried out in a partial manner for some time, for the establishment of a separate court for the hearing of all charges against children have been successful, the government having given instructions to the police that for the future all boys under sixteen and girls under eighteen years of age, arrested for and charged with any offence whatsoever, are not to be detained at the police station, but are to be sent to the "lock-up" provided at the offices of the department. This is now done, and all children under the ages above mentioned charged as neglected, destitute or uncontrollable, and all juvenile offenders, are now locked up at this department, and are tried in one of the offices set apart as a court-room. At the hearing an inspector of this department conducts the cases, and another officer acts as clerk of the court. The children are thus kept entirely separate from the police station and police court.

This establishment of a children's lock-up and court, which are not only altogether unconnected with the police court and police station, but are practically under control of the state children's department, must be regarded as a very marked advance upon old methods of dealing with juvenile offenders, and in initiating this reform this colony, says the *Child's Guardian*, "has led the way in a departure which is alike in public interest and in the interest of justice to children." In the last annual report mention was made of the partial establishment of the court, and in the report of the Victorian department for 1891 the secretary gave a description of our procedure, he having come to Adelaide specially to obtain an insight into its working. These public notifications drew the attention of penologists and officials in Great Britain and America to the matter, and several inquiries have been addressed to the department for information as to the method of conducting the court, and commendatory notices have appeared in various periodicals.

When the police magistrate has been unable to attend, justices of the peace have adjudicated in the juveniles' court. The following return shows the number of cases dealt with in the court held at the offices of the department:

Charge and Number Charged.		Sent to the Industrial School.	Sent to the Boys' Reformatory.	Sent to the Girls' Reformatory.	Discharged with a caution.	Whipped and to pay costs.	Whipped.	Fined.	Discharged. Over age when arrested.	Ordered bread and water.	Warrants still out.
Felony	7	1	..	..	..	3	3	..	..	..	..
Misdemeanor	7	..	..	1	1	1	2	2	..	..	..
Uncontrollable	30	12	10	3	5	..	..	..	..	..	..
Neglected	5	4	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
Destitute	51	51	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Absconders	11	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	4	4
	111	69	10	4	7	4	6	2	1	4	4

The value of the maintenance orders made against the parents of children committed to the care of the department during the year in the court held at this office has been £4 18s. per week.

NUMBER OF CHILDREN UNDER CONTROL.

On July 1 last the number of children under the control of the Council was 949. During the year 150 children have for various reasons passed out of the care of the department, yet owing to the number of children committed, there remained under control on June 30 a total of 996.

The following table shows how these children are distributed :

	Boys.	Girls.	Total.
In the Industrial School.....	24	15	39
In the Boys' Reformatory	53	..	53
In the Girls' Reformatory .....	..	26	26
Placed out.....	455	403	858
In the Lunatic Asylum.....	5	2	7
In the Blind Asylum.....	2	..	2
In the Hospital.....	2	1	3
In the Lying-in Home.....	..	2	2
Absconders	6	..	6
	<hr/> 547	<hr/> 449	<hr/> 996

HOW TO DEAL WITH THE WARDS OF THE STATE.*

1. The congregation of large numbers of children in any institution is to be deprecated and avoided.
2. As far as possible, and as speedily as possible, family home life should be provided for all.
3. The co-operation of the public as far as possible, and of the child itself, should be enlisted in the work of its training or reformation.
4. While detention in any institution should be short, the state's guardianship should be during minority, or until the age of eighteen, with the power of extension by the executive government until the age of twenty-one, subject, of course, to prior discharge at any time.
5. While children are in a receiving depot, or in foster-homes, guardianship should vest in the secretary or council of the department.
6. When in a probationary, reformatory or other school, or placed at service therefrom, guardianship should vest in the superintendent or matron (whether paid or honorary) of such school.
7. Lastly, and very particularly, effective inspection of homes, schools, and receiving depots should be provided by officers of a high class, unconnected with the administrative department, and reporting direct to the Minister.

* Extract from a paper by Mr. G. Guillaume, of Melbourne, Victoria, Australia, read at an Australasian Charity Conference, Melbourne, November, 1890.

THREE COMPLEMENTARY METHODS OF CARE FOR DEPENDENT CHILDREN.*

I join issue at once with those who propose that all existing orphanages, cottage homes, and similar institutions for orphan children, should be abolished, and that entire dependence should be placed on the boarding-out system. The attempt to bring about this exclusive establishment of one system only, and the sweeping abolition of the others, is much to be deprecated. Even if it were possible for it to succeed, such success would work badly for the boarding-out system itself, as will be shown further on.

Boarding-out is a most excellent plan for a great portion of the work, but it does not suffice for the whole, and requires to be supplemented by something more complete and efficient than mere receiving and distributing houses. If there had been no institutions between foster-parents' homes under the boarding-out regulations and government reformatories, many boys and girls too turbulent for foster-parents, yet not vicious in the sense of requiring penal treatment, must have been sent to the reformatories, and thus have fallen to some extent under the shadow of a criminal character, who have escaped that fate by means of such institutions as the cottage homes of the Melbourne Orphan Asylum at Brighton, the Cottage Home Farm at Lillydale, provided mainly by the benevolence of Messrs. Wiseman Brothers, Mr. Cherbury's Homes of Hope at Collingwood and Ocean Grove, and other similar institutions established under the care of religious and charitable organizations or private persons, both Protestant and Roman Catholic.

It is a great error, besides being very unfair, to do that which often has been done by those who advocate the boarding-out system and oppose other institutions for orphan children, namely, to speak of the institutions last mentioned as if they were to be placed in the same category with large state pauper establishments, in which children were formerly massed in large numbers under the cold and mechanical discipline of state officials, known only by number instead of by name, and drilled into a dull uniformity. Such institutions, for the most part, have been very properly abolished, and no one wishes to see them revived; but they are not for a moment to be compared with the modern cottage-home system. The experience of the past thirteen years has proved that a combination of the boarding-out system with the cottage-home system produces better results than either system worked alone, and that, when these are further combined with a third system (to be hereafter described) for dealing with destitute fatherless children who have living mothers of good character, a very complete and workable system has been attained.

Boarding-out is one of the best systems, but farming-out is, without exception, the very worst. There is a continual danger of boarding-out degenerating into farming-out, and a constant tendency in that direction. The only difference between the two is in the character of the homes in which the children may be placed. In spite of the utmost vigilance, occasional mistakes are unavoidable. This danger is kept in check only by the wonderful and never-to-be sufficiently praised zeal and exertions of the voluntary local ladies' com-

* Extract from a paper by Mr. E. Exon, of Melbourne, Victoria, Australia, read at an Australasian Charity Conference, Melbourne, November, 1891.

mittees, who watch over the children in the different boarding-out districts. The official visits of paid traveling inspectors would not be sufficient.

The cottage-home and the boarding-out systems have been found to work admirably together. The elder children who are being taught tailoring and bootmaking in the cottage homes, assist in providing the outfits of clothing required for children boarded-out. In the event of the removal of a child from a foster-parent's home being necessary, if there should be no other foster-parent's home available at the time, then the cottage homes provide a safe and good refuge ready at any moment. The need for such a refuge has often been evident. The transfers and returns to the institution have been numerous. Out of a total of 1312 children sent out to foster-parents, there were 280 transfers from the original homes to other foster-parents, and 323 returns to the institution. These figures prove that the constant watchfulness above mentioned is most urgently needed. In connection with a large number of boarded-out children, well-appointed cottage homes in a healthy situation have proved to be of great value also as sanatoria for children who may be temporarily or permanently in weak health. It is neither safe nor practicable as a rule to leave such children under the care of foster-parents.

Before referring more particularly to the third system above mentioned, it is necessary to define what we are to understand by the term "orphan." A child may be orphaned or bereaved wholly or partly by the death of one or of both parents, or by the disease, neglect, or criminal character of the parents. The means of the Melbourne Orphan Asylum are limited, and the area over which its work extends is large. It receives and provides for orphans from all parts of the colony of Victoria, except the towns of Ballarat and Geelong, where district orphanages have been established. It has, therefore, been compelled to adopt for its own practical purposes a rather limited meaning of the term "orphan." It places in the first rank as claimants for admission, destitute children who have been deprived by death of both parents, and no orphan of this class has ever been denied admittance. Secondly, children deprived by death of one parent, the surviving parent being unable to maintain them through hopeless disease or insanity, may be admitted; and thirdly, one or more of a numerous family of a destitute widow; but it is made a condition that such widow, if in good health, must have at least two young children remaining dependent upon her, that is to say, if she has three children, the orphan asylum will relieve her of one; if she has four, of two; and so on according to the number of children under twelve or thirteen years of age. No doubt there are many other classes of poor children outside the limits of these lines who urgently need charitable aid; but these have to be left to other organizations specially adapted to meet their cases. The three classes above named are the special care of the orphan asylum.

In addition to the boarding-out and cottage-home systems there is another which, for the third class of children above mentioned, is the best of all; although it is attended with so much danger of being abused that it was adopted with much hesitation, and is carried on under the most rigorous conditions of constant watchfulness. This plan is applicable to the cases of fatherless chil-

dren who have mothers living, provided that the mothers are of good character and able to exercise proper control over their children. In such cases, instead of separating the children from their mothers and placing them in the orphan asylum, or boarding them out with strangers, a weekly sum of money is granted to the mother for the maintenance of each child. This may be rather less than would be paid if the child were boarded out with strangers, and yet be a greater assistance to the mother than taking the child away from her, seeing that she is compelled to keep her home together for the sake of the remaining children.

The two chief objections to this plan are : (1) It may be called a branch of outdoor relief, and is likely to be sought after by many widows who would not place their children in an asylum or have them boarded-out in strange homes ; and therefore the adoption of this practice is calculated to lead to an increase in the demand upon charity. (2) Many mothers are unfit to have the care of their children. Some are morally depraved, and others, though good in character, are over-indulgent, and unable, when the children have lost their father, to supply the firmness of control necessary to preserve boys and girls from falling away into evil courses.

To guard against these dangers, the mothers who are paid for their own children are placed under the care of local ladies' visiting committees, subject to the same regulations for visitation and strict supervision as are provided for the protection of children boarded out with strangers. If the children are not kept regularly at school, properly trained and well cared for, or if the home discloses objectionable features, the matter is reported to the general committee by the local correspondent. Special visitation is made by an officer from the institution, and if after the warning the causes of complaint are not removed, the pay to the mother is discontinued ; but the children may be either taken into the orphanage or removed to the care of foster-parents under the boarding-out regulations.

To meet the difficulty of the tendency to an increase in the demand upon the charity caused by this plan of paying mothers for the support of their own children, all such cases are placed on the books only for one year at the farthest. The order for the admission of the child or children terminates on the last day of the year, and can be renewed only on a fresh application, accompanied by a special report of the visiting agent or local committee, showing that the circumstances of the case are still such as to justify the committee under the rules of the institution in continuing the grant in aid.

This constant visitation, reporting and reviewing entails an enormous amount of work, but being conscientiously performed, it is a reasonably sufficient safeguard against abuse of the charity, and after thirteen years' experience the committee are assured that they possess in this method a very valuable one for the class of destitute children for whom it is intended. . . . This is the best form of charity—helping the poor to help themselves.

ABSTRACT OF THE LAW IN REGARD TO DEPENDENT CHILDREN NOW
ADVOCATED IN NEW SOUTH WALES, AUSTRALIA.*

Provision for the transfer of all government institutions for the young to the control of one directing body, in order that they may be re-organized with a view to their more economical management; to the proper classification of the inmates; their instruction in industrial pursuits in schools or reformatories; their subdivision into families in such institutions; and preliminary training in these altered circumstances in such a way that their segregation in homes under the boarding-out system would be attended with few after-difficulties, and transfers from family to family, which tend to unsettle children, would be of rare occurrence.

Power to proceed legally against the parents of illegitimate children for the recovery of maintenance moneys, father and mother to be liable separately or jointly. Power to require mothers of illegitimate children charged upon the state to make declaration as to the paternity of such children, and penalties for refusal or false declaration in such cases.

Power to establish one or more model farms at which some of the elder boys may be instructed in the theory and practice of agriculture.

Penalty upon parents who vexatiously visit the homes of their boarded-out children and interfere with and annoy the guardians.

Power to deal criminally with persons who leave illegitimate or other children with people, under promise of payment for their support, and then desert them.

Imposition of penalties upon unlicensed foster-mothers.

Deserving widows or deserted wives to be permitted to retain their own children as state boarders, at the discretion of the board.

Exemption of state apprentices from school attendance, or, otherwise, apprenticeship at fourteen instead of at twelve years of age.

Insolvency not to relieve employers of indebtedness to state apprentices.

Provision for the transfer of apprentices, cancellation of indentures in cases of ill-treatment of children or other sufficient cause, and in such cases power to re-apprentice such children.

Penalty upon employer for discharging apprentice without consent of board.

Power to police or any officer of the board to arrest without warrant, absconding apprentices or boarded-out and adopted children, or children who have been illegally removed by parents.

Stepfathers to be liable for the support of their wife's children, whether legitimate or illegitimate, at the time of their marriage; and the "grandmother and grandfather, and the children and grandchildren," in addition to the fathers and mothers, to be liable, according to their several abilities, to be charged for the relief and support of their children who may be under state control.

Board to have power over moneys or properties to which state children may be entitled for the benefit and maintenance of such children as may be decided.

* Compiled by Dr. Renwick, M. L. C., and reported at an Australasian Charity Conference, Melbourne, 1891.

46 DEPENDENT, NEGLECTED AND WAYWARD CHILDREN.

Penalties upon persons who may obtain relief from the charge of their children under false pretenses, or who may succeed by false pretenses in having children placed with them as boarders.

Parents reclaiming boarded-out children to pay the costs incurred by the department when able.

Parents surrendering children for adoption to have no control over them subsequently.

Provision for home education of children; affidavits, in such event, to be made by teachers and guardians that the child has been instructed a specified number of days in every half-year; daily record of instruction to be kept.

All institutions for children which may be supported by public donations to be subject to official supervision, with a view to the proper treatment of the children.

Power to place boarded-out children, in case of their serious illness, in all hospitals wholly or partially supported from state funds.

Power to supervise all children for three years after their official period of boarding-out, or adoption, or apprenticeship, has terminated.

FIRST SECTION MEETING.

MONDAY, JUNE 12, 1893, 2 P. M.

The CHAIRMAN.—The hour has arrived at which this meeting must convene, and I have the honor of announcing the organization of our section and also the programme of the section meetings and of the general session under the charge of this section.

I wish to announce also that it is the earnest desire of the secretary of this section, Mr. Charles W. Birtwell, and myself, that we may have the frankest and fullest discussion possible at all our meetings after the reading of the prepared papers. We have come here from different parts of this country and of the world. We have each worked out our individual problems under varied conditions. The value of this Conference will be greatly enhanced if we secure a brief and pointed expression of criticism or approval from this wide range of experience and effort. We ought each to gain new ideas and see our own specialty from many points of view. We are honored by the presence of several foreign delegates. The first whom we shall have the pleasure of greeting and listening to is M. PROSPER VAN GEERT, of Antwerp, Belgium.

M. VAN GEERT.—The Department for the Care of Abandoned Children in Antwerp is a division of the Bureau of Charity. The city has a population of about 250,000.

At first, children were placed-out in families in the country on farms, but after a time we saw that those little ones were not cared for as we wanted them to be. Then the Bureau of Charity of Antwerp took the children back and gave them a new kind of instruction. They were taught a trade in the town; that is to say, we have for the poor people about a thousand houses, which have to be built and repaired by carpenters, masons, plumbers, etc., and the abandoned children are placed with these artisans, and some are taught to be clerks in the office. If they are more adapted to make farmers, we send them to the country, where the Bureau of Charity has some farms. We have a better supervision of them in this way. When they were in private families we did not have any good supervision of them. I have here some notes on this subject of the abandoned children of Antwerp, which I will offer the President to be inserted in the proceedings.*

The CHAIRMAN.—To start the questions, which I am sure M. VAN GEERT can well answer, I should like to ask whether in the placing-out of children at first, which seemed unsatisfactory in its results, you had efficient supervision of the children by visitors?

* See page 16, report of general session.

M. VAN GEERT.—We had state visitors.

The CHAIRMAN.—Had you any volunteer visitors?

M. VAN GEERT.—No. The children were sent too far out into the country for volunteer visiting.

A MEMBER.—Do we understand that you do not place children out in the country at all now?

M. VAN GEERT.—Only on the farms owned and managed by the Bureau of Charity, where we now place all whose health is not good, or who wish to be farmers.

A MEMBER.—Are the trade-teaching shops to which you send the other boys public?

M. VAN GEERT.—No, they belong to the citizens; but the Bureau selects men of especially good conduct and skill and pays them for instructing the children.

A MEMBER.—What literary training do your children have in connection with the industrial?

M. VAN GEERT.—Up to the age of ten to twelve years the children attend school all the time. After that they are taught for an hour and a half in the evening school at the Asylum, to which they return from the trade-shops each night for supper and for all care and supervision.

A MEMBER.—Under your system what does it cost to care for a child?

M. VAN GEERT.—Formerly about four dollars a month. Now it costs more, because we give all the children better care and training.

A MEMBER.—What do you do when a boy or girl has learned a trade?

M. VAN GEERT.—Try to get the boy or girl a good place to work.

A MEMBER.—How long do the children remain in charge of the Bureau?

M. VAN GEERT.—Until sixteen to eighteen years.

A MEMBER.—Where do you get your children? On what principle do you accept them?

M. VAN GEERT.—They must be wholly abandoned and have no home.

The CHAIRMAN.—What is done with children, of whom we have a large number in this country, whose parents, one or both, are living, but are worthless or incompetent?

M. VAN GEERT.—As a rule we do not take such children. We are not allowed to.

The CHAIRMAN.—What is done with them? Are they simply sent to the general relief agencies?

M. VAN GEERT.—Yes.

The CHAIRMAN.—Have you a truant law compelling such children to attend school?

M. VAN GEERT.—No. They have that in Germany.

The CHAIRMAN.—We must now pass to the hearing of the first paper of the programme. It is upon the French System of Care for

Children ; written, not by a delegate from France, but by an American lady who has devoted her time since her graduation from Bryn Mawr College to investigating social questions, and who spent a year in France in actual observation of the methods pursued in that country, and therefore writes not alone from wide theoretical, but from close practical study of her topic. I have now the pleasure of presenting Miss EMILY GREENE BALCH, of Boston, Massachusetts. Miss BALCH then read the following paper :

PUBLIC PROVISION FOR CHILDREN IN FRANCE.

EMILY GREENE BALCH.

The provision made for children is one of the most interesting and instructive parts of the French system of public assistance. In every country the importance of radical and preventive measures is coming to be realized, and increasing emphasis laid, therefore, on work for children, but in France several other causes have also conspired to direct attention to work on their behalf.

First, there is instinctive sympathy for the most helpless and unmerited suffering, and French assistance is at bottom mainly instinctive and not much reasoned out on philosophical lines. France, moreover, is the heir of the great enthusiasm for child-helping created by Saint Vincent de Paul in the seventeenth century, and much that is best in her institutions goes back to shortly after that time. This natural and inherited interest in children has been re-enforced by the peculiar condition of the country as regards population. With the most sensitive pride of race, and in a position where political strength depends largely on numbers, the French are confronted with the problem of a stagnating population. They have almost the lowest birth-rate in Europe, and a death-rate which leaves an insignificant and constantly lessening surplus of births over deaths. The knowledge of these facts has sensibly quickened the desire to save the lives of all possible future citizens to the nation.

There are three main parts of French public care for children :

1. Complete provision for foundlings and deserted children and for destitute orphans, who together form the class officially designated "assisted children" (*enfants assistés*). The children become wards of public authorities and are almost universally placed in country homes.
2. Supervision of children placed at board by their parents, and efforts to prevent baby-farming abuses.

3. Comparatively recent efforts on behalf of "morally abandoned," that is, *neglected* children.

Two main principles mark the public charity of France. It is, as a general rule, communal or local. It is also voluntary; that is, a community is not obliged to do anything for its poor. It may make appropriations for their benefit, it may collect a percentage of the proceeds of public amusements on their behalf, and certain fines are supposed to go to the hospitals, and so forth, but it is considered contrary to public policy to levy a special tax for relief. As a matter of fact the funds for this purpose are largely supplied by private generosity, which in France is the more largely distributed through official channels, because private charity is looked on with some mistrust by the government, and its organization considerably restricted by legal and administrative obstacles thrown in its way.

But both the principle of communal care and of non-obligatory relief are overridden on behalf of "assisted children." The care of them, is confided not to the local authorities but to the department, that is, to the administrative division corresponding approximately to our states. Moreover, the expenses thus entailed are obligatory. The state pays a certain part, the rest is paid by the department, the communes contributing a part of the departmental charge in shares proportioned to their ability. A very small and poor commune may even be excused altogether. One department may claim reimbursement from another for assistance given to children belonging to the latter.

The only other exception to the principle that relief is voluntary is in the case of the dangerously insane.

The classes of children thus legally entitled to complete support, the *enfants assistés* spoken of above, are carefully defined. They comprise (1) literal foundlings, (2) orphans with neither father nor mother nor any means of support however meagre, and (3) children deserted by their parents, the whereabouts of the parents being unknown and recourse to them impossible. Assisted children must also be under twelve when admitted to support.

The prominence given in France, and especially in Paris, to the subject of foundlings and of children deserted at birth is very significant. In Paris such desertions numbered a few years ago between three and four thousand a year in a population of 2,400,000. This is, however, less than half what they were in 1772 with a population only one-sixth as large. With the desire to prevent infanticide and

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avoid family scandals, even at some cost to public morality, the way to desertion has been made easy. The Parisian mother may carry or send her baby to the bureau of the asylum, or, if that is too far, to the police officer of her quarter, and it will be taken and no questions will be asked. She is required only to furnish the child's official birth bulletin, but she may, if she wish, report it as "born of parents unknown." The only check is the rule that the mother shall have no further knowledge of her child (unless she come to reclaim it and can repay expenses if required), except that she may learn every three months whether it is still living.

In the provinces desertion is made more difficult, a fact much complained of by writers on the subject, although it is common in such cases to give temporary aid. One argument is that the mother is entitled to support for her child on account of the provision of the Civil Code forbidding any attempt to fix the fatherhood of an illegitimate child. The giving of temporary "aid to prevent desertion," so-called, is common, and the children so aided are commonly classed with the "assisted children," though the aid given is purely optional. One peculiar feature of this temporary aid is that it is open only to unmarried mothers. Some departments, to make up for this, make appropriations for similar relief to married women, others do not.

As has been said, orphans are not admissible as *enfants assistés* if they have even partial means of support. If not admitted as such, they must depend, like other needy persons, on the local relief bureau (*bureau de bienfaisance*), if there is one established and if it has any funds. Private orphanages, usually religious, are, however, common, numbering some thirteen thousand in all.

Even with these strict limitations the "assisted children" number nearly 90,000 (with those receiving temporary aid, 130,000). Of these 90,000 nearly two-thirds were a year old or less when admitted, and over forty per cent. were less than one month. Considerably more than a third belonged to Paris.

The guardianship of an "assisted child" is vested in one of the board of the asylum at which it is entered, the rest of the board acting as family council. In Paris, however, the Director of Public Assistance has sole guardianship of those of his department. The method universally pursued with these children is to give them as nearly as may be a family of their own. This is the easier because so many are little babies. The woman who takes a child to nurse

with the prospect that if all goes well she will have it as a permanent member of the family, soon comes to regard it almost as her own, and it is the intention of the administration to select the first nurse so carefully that the child may never have to know a change. The Seine and some other populous departments have special resident agents in the localities where their children are chiefly placed. In Paris the system is so perfected that the child averages only twenty-four to thirty-six hours in the asylum before it is on its way to the country with its foster-mother. The women I have seen there, who had come to get their nurslings, were clean, rosy-faced, white-capped peasant women, and certainly were themselves a hopeful augury of the wholesome lives of the Parisian waifs about to be entrusted to them. Indeed, the testimony seems to be universal that the success of placing children in peasant families is complete.

It is interesting to notice that this has been the usual way of providing for orphans in France since the latter part of the eighteenth century. It came about very naturally through the custom, common even among the well-to-do, of putting children out to nurse for the first years of their lives. It was easy to provide in the same way for what in England would be called the pauper children.

In Paris they were first brought back to asylums when weaned; but in 1761 this was given up and they were left permanently in the country, board being paid up to the age of fourteen for boys and sixteen for girls. They were apprenticed up to the age of twenty-five. When the whole question came up to be discussed on its merits in the judgment-day of the Revolution, the Duc de la Rochefoucauld Liancourt, the most competent authority of the time, bore witness that "almost all the children kept by the nurses beyond the set time are kept until they marry, are treated like children of the house, and for the most part turn out well." The experience with the children kept in the city institutions and there apprenticed seems on the contrary to have been most unfortunate.

Modern testimony confirms the older experience. "In most of the departments, especially in central France," says M. Rollet, "experience has proved that the *enfant assisté* almost always creates for himself a real family, in which, even after his majority and during his whole life, he finds the same affection, the same support as if he were united to it by blood"; and he refers to George Sand's touching and beautiful picture of the adopted foundling in her story of *François le Champi*. Complaints seem to arise only where the

payment allowed for board is inadequate, or where, as in one of the northern departments, children are placed with families of an unsuitable class.

It is, of course, obvious that the system requires great care in inspection and oversight, and such care seems to be generally provided. Special pains are taken to ensure the children at least primary schooling and to secure co-operation between inspectors and school-teachers. The children seem to become for the most part peasant proprietors. In the department of the Nièvre, which receives a thousand children annually from Paris, it is reported that most of the children, accustomed from their youth up to farm work, become peasants, marry, are completely assimilated to the rest of the population, lead a life modest but full of security and dignity, and often attain to the office of municipal councillor or *maire* of the commune.

Beside the dependent or assisted children of whom I have spoken, the state concerns itself with the many children boarded-out by their families. It was in 1874 that attention was specially called to the terrible mortality prevailing among these children. While the normal death-rate for children under one year was set at ten or even five per cent., it rose among children at nurse to fifty, sixty and even eighty per cent. The result of the publication of these facts was the so-called Roussel law of 1874, due largely to the senator of that name who has so identified himself with the cause of children. By this law every child under two years placed out for money, whether by its parents or others, is subject to state surveillance under the care of the prefect of the department and a volunteer committee. The work is mainly done by salaried inspectors. There was also an attempt, not, I believe, very successful, to organize local committees with women among the members, in districts where many children were taken to nurse.

The law also provides careful regulations as to permits to receive children to board or nurse, as to the registration of children so received, and so forth. The defect of the law is that it is not mandatory, but leaves the department free to put it in force or not. The expenses entailed by the carrying out of the law are shared between the department and the state. At first many departments either provided insufficient appropriations or failed altogether to execute the law. Nevertheless it has steadily gained ground, and has proved its usefulness by the fall in the infant death-rate wherever it has been

put in force. In the department of the lower Seine the prefect reports a death-rate among the children under the supervision provided by the Roussel law, that is only one-half or one-third that of children brought up at home. The work of the law is ably seconded by private societies.

The last class of children to be cared for in France has been the class so sadly common in great cities, and not least so in Paris, the great class of the neglected, or as the French say, the "morally deserted." Shut out by the terms of the law from the class of "assisted children," either because over twelve years old, or because their parents were living out and their whereabouts known, such children could hope for no protection or care from the authorities till brought before a court for some offense. Then, indeed, if under sixteen they might be adjudged to have *acted without discernment* and be sent to a house of correction till majority. If over sixteen or considered to have acted with discernment, they might be condemned to a penalty of two years.

Paris, where the evils of this situation were most felt, was the first to act, and while the legislature was discussing for eight years a law which was to set the whole matter straight but which was not passed until 1889, the capital quietly created in 1881 a "department of morally deserted children." There was no power to take any child from its parents, no matter what their character, the respect for paternal rights, inherited from the Roman law, being still intact; but in spite of the lack of any legal right of custody, waifs and strays to the number of 5,600 were received in the first eight years. Not quite one-third were girls. Of 676 received in 1888, 311 were ten years old or less, 315 were between ten and fifteen, and 44 were over fifteen; 561 were legitimate. The parents of 337 of these children were poor, of 71 were unworthy, of 75 had disappeared, of 142 were dead; that is, seventy per cent. of the children were children whose parents were either poor or dead. A little more than this proportion of the children were brought to the authorities by their parents, who asked to have them taken. Of the rest, about one-quarter were sent in from the courts and three-quarters brought by the police. These figures seem to show that the so-called morally deserted children of Paris were for the most part, at that time at least, rather what we should call wayward children—boys and girls whom their parents, often overworked and living among examples of evil, feel themselves unable to control.

In dealing with these children, it was decided not to adopt a system of reform or industrial schools, but to make use of the machinery created for the "assisted children," and follow a modification of the same plan. They are brought first of all to the Paris asylum on the Rue Deufert-Rochereau, where are, beside the babies waiting to be sent out with their nurses to the country, the "children temporarily assimilated to assisted children," whose parents are in prison or in a hospital, and who are kept here till their release. At this asylum the candidates for admission to the "department of morally abandoned children" are kept under observation for a fortnight, during which time their cases are looked up and their characters studied. Those that are considered promising enough to be eligible (and the authorities are afraid of hurting the reputation of their wards and making it difficult to find boarding places if they take very troublesome children) are then sent to places. Those that are under twelve fare just as though they were "assisted children," that is, they go to country homes. "We had feared at first," says M. Bruyère, "that used to the stirring and noisy life of factories and shops, a homesickness for Paris would prevent their being contented in the country and succeeding there. Great was our surprise, greater our satisfaction, when, after several years' experience, the reports of our agents unanimously announced the success of these placings. The children were permanently transformed into peasants."

With the older boys and girls the authorities endeavor to do just what a wise father would do, that is, to apprentice them to a good trade. At first much was hoped from a plan of placing a large group, perhaps fifty together, with one manufacturer, to work for him and learn his business. This would of course have been an economy to the administration, but it did not work well in practice, and almost all the children have since been placed either singly or with only a few others.

A number of technical schools have been created for those among the children who show capacities for skilled work; a school of horticulture and basket-work at Villepreux, a school of cabinetmaking and printing at Montévrain (the school is named after D'Alembert, himself a foundling), and a school of printing at Alençon. These are for boys. A school has been established at Yzeure for girls. An attempt at a reform school was not a success.

Up to 1889, as has been said, there was no way of removing a child from cruel or neglectful parents, but in that year a law was

finally passed, after a discussion of eight years and an immense amount of study. One outcome of this long incubation was M. Roussel's report on the subject, a report filling three large volumes and describing the conditions of child-helping in this country as well as in the main countries of Europe. The law in its final form was much less comprehensive than some of the earlier proposals. Its main provisions are as follows:

Parents lose their paternal rights *ipso facto*—

1. On a sentence for exciting, favoring or facilitating the prostitution or corruption of their minor children.
2. On a sentence as authors or accessories in crime committed against the person of or by their children.
3. On a second sentence for an offense committed against the person of or by their children.
4. On a second sentence for habitually exciting minors to debauch.

The forfeiture of paternal rights *may be pronounced* against parents sentenced for life or to a term of imprisonment with hard labor, or to imprisonment for non-political crime; against parents sentenced for a second time for vagabondage, or for desertion or sequestration of children; against parents sentenced for the first time for habitually exciting minors to debauch; against parents whose children have been sent to the House of Correction according to the Penal Code, §66; against parents sentenced for open drunkenness according to the law of January 23, 1873, and against parents sentenced for violation of a law forbidding parents to make children under sixteen perform dangerous tricks or contortions, forbidding parents to employ children under twelve in acrobatic performances, juggling, circus or menagerie exhibitions or similar shows, forbidding parents and guardians or masters to place children under sixteen with persons engaged in the above businesses or under the charge of vagabonds, persons with no recognized calling or professional beggars, and forbidding the employing of children under sixteen in habitual beggary whether openly or under pretense of a profession.

Even in the absence of any sentence, parents may be declared to have forfeited their rights by habitual drunkenness, notorious and scandalous misconduct, or by ill-treatment compromising the health, safety, or morality of their children.

This law also provides, in a more liberal spirit than is always found in French administration at present, for the recognition of private agencies, making it possible for individuals and private as

well as public institutions to obtain the necessary rights of guardianship from the courts. It also puts such children under state surveillance, and requires that when children under sixteen are taken charge of by such agencies, without the intervention of the parents, the *mairie* shall be notified within three days, under penalty of fine and imprisonment.

Finally, it provides that when a department will agree to assimilate "morally abandoned children" to "assisted children" as regards expense (that is, to make itself responsible for their care), the state shall bear one-fifth of all expenses for both classes of children, and the contributions of the communes shall be obligatory.

The CHAIRMAN.—Before discussing this clear and strong statement of the French system, we will listen to the second paper on our programme, in order that the subject for our present consideration may be fully before us. This paper is upon *Foundlings and Illegitimate Children*, and it is written by one of those women whose labors revolutionized child-care in the state of Pennsylvania, Mrs. ANNA T. WILSON. She is now assistant secretary of the State Charities Aid Association of New York. She is unable to be present. The paper will be read by Miss HELEN DOW, an assistant in the Boston Children's Aid Society.

Miss Dow then read the following paper :

FOUNDLINGS AND ILLEGITIMATE CHILDREN.

ANNA T. WILSON, ASSISTANT SECRETARY, STATE CHARITIES AID
ASSOCIATION OF NEW YORK.

"Against the background of history, too prominent to escape the observation from which it shrinks, stands a figure, mute, mournful, indescribably sad. It is a girl, holding in her arms the blessing and burden of motherhood, but in whose face one finds no traces of maternal joy and pride. There is scarcely a great writer of fiction who has not somewhere introduced this figure in the shifting panorama of romance, appealing for pity to a world which never fails to compassionate imaginary woes; now it is Effie Deans in the Heart of Midlothian; now Fantine, resting by the roadside with Cosette in her arms; or Hester Prynne, pressing little Pearl against the scarlet letter as she listens from the pillory to the sermon of Mr. Dimmesdale. Who is this woman so pitiable, yet so scorned? It is the mother of the illegitimate child. By forbidden paths she has attained

the grace of maternity ; but its glory is for her transfigured into a badge of unutterable shame."

Pathetic and prophetic both are these opening words of Dr. Lefingwell's book on *Illegitimacy*. Prophetic of a juster era, when the prototypes of the Cosettes and Fantines of to-day shall have faded altogether from the earth ; pathetic, that it should be necessary to plead the sacredness of all motherhood, the divinity of all children.

There are not wanting signs, however, that society is recognizing the falseness of its present attitude towards the unmarried mother and her child, and the fundamental injustice in its treatment of them both.

Nothing connected with the treatment of illegitimacy is more terrible than the fact that women are driven to such frenzy and despair that they will forget their motherhood and kill their own innocent little babes. This is no imaginary evil. It is stated in one of the latest reports of a foundling hospital which receives over one-quarter of a million of dollars from the treasury of a great city, that the main object of the institution is "to prevent the terrible crime of infanticide and preserve to God and society lives which would otherwise have been sacrificed to hide the wretched mothers' shame." It is said, also, by a recent writer who has made extensive researches into the subject, that "even the criminal records give us but a hint of the awful evil that in reality exists."

Realizing the cause of an evil hastens its remedy, and can we doubt that the main cause which leads a mother to commit a crime so unnatural is that injustice which sends the Hetty Sorrells to life-long banishment and leaves the Arthur Donnithornes unscathed, to live their lives as before, which not only heaps on the unmarried mother the whole burden of shame, but calls her child "base-born" and makes it almost hopelessly difficult for her to rear it. What wonder that the maddening misery and want which these poor young mothers are so often obliged to suffer still more confuses their moral sense and makes it appear to them that it is their maternity for which society is blaming them, and that if this were only gotten rid of they would be restored to their former standing.

It has been thought, hitherto, that foundling asylums, or some system which received the illegitimate child without question, was the most efficient method by which this special evil could be prevented. There are not, as far as known, any statistics showing the

relative rate of increase or decrease of infanticide between those communities in which foundling asylums receive illegitimate children freely, and those in which such institutions are unknown. But even if it were possible to collect statistics and they were in favor of such asylums, they would be, in all likelihood, more than counterbalanced by the deaths occurring after the children are received in such institutions; and as these are due mainly to the mother's desertion, she is to be held just as responsible morally for them as for those of which the law takes cognizance.

Apart, however, from all considerations of greater or less mortality, any institution or system which aims to take care of the child without including the mother also, tends to perpetuate the evil which it was meant to remedy.

Such a method does this for three reasons:

1. In providing facilities for the mother to rid herself of her child, it keeps alive and intensifies in the minds of the weaker and more ignorant members of the community the belief that it is maternity which brings shame and disgrace, and not the lapse from virtue which preceded it.
2. By helping the mother to break a natural law it indirectly leads her to lose respect for her motherhood, and deprives her of one of the strongest forces for strengthening her own character.
3. It creates the impression that character can be restored on the basis of a falsehood.

That institutions fully realize some of these dangers is shown by the fact of the gradual addition of mothers' departments to all those asylums and foundling hospitals which formerly received children only. In the last report of the one previously alluded to, which has had an experience extending over a long term of years and with a large number of children (the average number being now nearly 2000), the following significant sentence occurs: "The very effort to do this successfully [prevent infanticide] called for the co-operation of the mothers. The most faithful, self-sacrificing exertions on the part of others proved insufficient to supply their place, and thus the rescued babe became the unconscious saviour of its unhappy parent." In the mothers' department connected with this institution, 445 mothers were encouraged to enter *with* their children during the past year.

There is, however, a very serious objection to caring either for mother or child, except temporarily, in an institution, as it not only

places them apart as a special class, but it removes the mother from among the self-supporting members of the community and makes both her and her child dependent. It is also customary to allow the mother to leave such institutions without her child, after a certain stipulated period, thus only deferring the separation, not preventing it altogether.

Is there, then, any method which offers a more hopeful solution of this difficult social problem?

A work has been carried on for a number of years in the cities of Boston and Philadelphia which, while thoroughly agreeing with the statement made by foundling asylums that co-operation of the mother is necessary to save the life of the babe, and that it becomes in its turn the unconscious means of uplifting her, puts these conclusions, however, into practical operation in a way altogether different from the institutional one.

This method seeks to find service-places in families, mostly in the country, to which a mother may go and take her child with her, receiving small wages in return for the help she renders in the household.

The advantages of this plan are obvious. The child is not only kept with its own mother, but she is placed in such perfectly natural relations towards the community that she is able to become self-supporting at the earliest possible moment, and it has been found by actual experience that in her efforts to support herself and child the mother's whole character is deepened and strengthened.

Of this work in Boston, known as "A Charity for Aiding Destitute Mothers and Infants," it is said by one who was instrumental in starting it, "In view of the fact that it is a moral injury to the mother to separate her from her child, we believe that in keeping them together we have found the most simple and effective method that could be adopted, and that we are thus co-operating with nature instead of working against it. We have carefully watched in many cases the result of this course and have repeatedly seen its advantages. The love of the mother for her child is her shield and safeguard. The care of the helpless little one is an education of the mother's higher nature and her best incentive to a life of virtue. Many people assume that it is impossible for an unmarried woman to support her babe. This is a mistake. If it is her wish to support it, it is not difficult to find employment for her in a family which will receive both her and her child, and where they will have a good

home for years. The experience of fifteen years has confirmed us in believing this to be an effectual method in bringing about the ends we wish to accomplish.

"The work has been done by a very few ladies who give the larger part of their time to it. Guided by certain principles, and finding it best to adhere usually to certain methods, they are yet bound by no rigid rules, and are able to come into personal relations with those whom they assist. Each woman is regarded not as one of a class but as an individual, and receives the kind of aid that her character and circumstances require." It is said that one of these ladies has, herself, placed one thousand mothers in situations and that the larger number have done well.

The work in Philadelphia was started without any special communication with those who carry it on in Boston, although it was not begun until six years later. A quite remarkable circumstance connected with it is that none of those who afterward engaged in it had previously thought of beginning such a work. The Children's Aid Society of Philadelphia, under whose auspices it was undertaken, had been specially chartered to care for dependent children. From the beginning, however, the problem of what to do for destitute mothers became quite as serious a question as what to do for the children. Young and friendless as many of them were, with scarcely more understanding of the real meaning of life than the helpless babes they carried in their arms, it seemed impossible to disregard their claims for consideration. The sympathy and wisdom of those who saw them day after day, and heard the oft-repeated tale of ignorance and weakness, were taxed to the utmost. Even when desirous of keeping their babes with them, as most of them were, all avenues to support seemed closed to them. It appeared at first to those who were trying amidst great difficulties to solve the problem, that there were only two courses to follow,—either to support mother and child together, or to take care of the child and leave the mother free to become again a wage-earner. At the best it seemed to be Scylla on one side and Charybdis on the other, and as the society had no institution, it was almost of necessity compelled to adopt the second course. This was done with many misgivings and only after a clear understanding with the mother that she was not to give up her child, but was to contribute a certain portion of her earnings towards its support.

It will be of interest to note briefly some of the results of this well-meaning attempt to be helpful.

1. It not unusually happened, as may be inferred, that the child died as a result of the separation; this was almost certain to be the case if it were placed in an institution; it was found that almost its only chance of living was to find a boarding-home for it with a good motherly woman in the country.

2. Mothers gradually ceased to care for their children and frequently deserted them altogether; in some cases there was a recurrence of the first offense, which may or may not have been because of the separation, but it was not uncommon to hear the expression, "If I could have kept my baby with me this would not have happened."

3. Even where the mothers did not actually go wrong there was in almost every case a marked deterioration of character. A hardening process seemed to have taken place which made them less amenable to good influences.

These results more than confirmed previous misgivings, and a genuine relief was felt by all those connected with the work when it became evident that not only might mother and child be kept together, but that it could be done on a thoroughly practical basis. It has never been recorded how it came about that the first mother was sent to a situation with her child from the office of the Children's Aid Society; but no doubt it was a natural adjustment of the law of supply and demand, one side desiring work, the other side wanting workers; and as time went on, the increasing number who applied for this class of help made it a certainty that any mother who wished to keep her child with her and work to support it, could find opportunity to do so. At certain seasons it is impossible to find a sufficient number of women to supply this demand; at other times it may be necessary to insert an advertisement in the country papers. It should be stated that it is not only mothers with illegitimate children for whom situations are thus found, but deserted wives and widows are also helped in the same way. The assistance to all is given entirely on the ground that they are mothers anxious to keep and support their children, and not because they belong to a special class.

Printed notices are sent to all maternity hospitals, saying that for any mother who wishes to keep her child with her and work to support it, a situation will be found, free of charge, by applying at the Children's Aid office. An agent also visits the almshouse and persuades mothers to take situations rather than stay the two years allowed by law before their babes can be taken from them. The fact that they could get nothing to do with the child was formerly an

excuse for staying in the almshouse the full two years and sometimes longer. The nurses and other employees usually co-operate very heartily in the plan and urge the women to take situations when offered them. They are also helpful in giving a more intimate knowledge of the disposition and character of the women, which could not otherwise be readily obtained. This information becomes exceedingly valuable in the after-placing, enabling those interested to work to better advantage in securing situations suited to individual needs.

An exact record is kept, as far as possible, of everything pertaining to the mother and child, and this history is continued after a new home has been obtained for them.

The objection so often urged, that the child shares the disgrace of the mother if it is kept with her, is not found to be true in actual experience. In the first place, the disgrace sinks into the background, because the mother in fulfilling her duty becomes honored and respected, and many instances could be related where the child has been the object of unbounded affection in the family to which the mother had been sent. It not unfrequently happens that such a woman marries well and the child goes with her to her new home; in other cases she returns to her own family again, taking the child with her.

Beside Boston and Philadelphia, this work is carried on in Chicago and Buffalo, and there are doubtless many scattered cases throughout country districts. It is estimated that over one thousand mothers are every year enabled to maintain their independence and self-respect, and to support themselves and children in this way. These figures are only an indication of what may yet be accomplished in the direction of this thoroughly natural method.

In this connection it may be said that the work has been carried on in Philadelphia in a most simple and inexpensive way; as no charge is made in securing help, the employer usually pays the transportation expenses; so that the agent's salary and office supplies have heretofore constituted the chief outlay.

Those who have been engaged in carrying out the practical details, however, have never felt that the work could be considered successful in the truest sense without an extension of the present system. This would require a larger number of workers, although not necessarily involving a greatly increased pecuniary outlay. They are impressed with the fact that great care should be taken in the selec-

tion of service-places, and that a previous investigation of them should be made, much in the same way as is done in securing homes for dependent children; and, furthermore, that these homes should be visited and friendly relations kept up with the mother and child, as well as with the employer. Such a system of kindly oversight, if carried out by women who are wisely sympathetic—and no others should be engaged in it—could not fail to cement the tie between the mother and those who are trying to aid her; she would naturally listen to their advice, and in this way many unimportant differences could be smoothed over that might otherwise cause her to leave her new home. Then on the other side many thoughtlessly exacting employers would become more reasonable in their demands if attention were called to the fact. It is not only necessary that a situation be found for the mother, but she is to be *sustained* in what must be, even under the best conditions, a difficult position, and enabled to rear her child properly. This can be done only by helpful personal relations maintained for a term of years. The services of local volunteer visitors may be in many cases enlisted, and supplement to a certain extent the visiting agent's work.

There is still another problem that it is believed ought to come within the mission of this system and which it should be elastic enough to reach, and that is, the ante-natal period. This is the time above all others when the mind needs to be guided in the right way. It is, therefore, appropriately the work of a mothers' department to reach out to these young women so often rendered desperate at the prospect before them, and to guide them in the only direction in which true restoration can be found,—that of holding sacred their motherhood.

It may not appear to the ordinary observer that a work which aids and encourages unmarried mothers to fulfill the responsibility which they have incurred is of any special importance beyond saving some additional outlay for the care of dependent children. But if, as has been thought, the remedy for illegitimacy lies in the inculcation of a greater sense of responsibility for *parenthood*, then this work has a deeper significance; for every mother who is thus helped to support herself and child is not only saved from becoming a burden on the community, but aids, indirectly though it be, in the moral uplift of the race.

The CHAIRMAN.—This topic treated by Mrs. Wilson lies at the heart of our subject. In all our work for dependent, neglected and

wayward children we must seek to awaken a larger and deeper feeling of parental responsibility in the community and among individual parents. And as regards the unmarried mother, it seems to be our duty to keep that mother with her child if possible, even if their lives have been drawn together through dark and tortuous ways. In listening to Mrs. Wilson's paper I was reminded of a reply made by Rev. Charles G. Ames to one who questioned if it were not dangerous to social order to do so much for illegitimate children and their mothers. "Illegitimate children!" said he, "there are none! There are illegitimate parents, but no illegitimate children." They do indeed belong to the one human family, they and their mothers also, and we must hold sacred the ties which nature has established, even through the woman's mistakes and errors.

I shall now call upon Miss CATHERINE HELEN SPENCE, of Adelaide, Australia, member of the State Children's Council of South Australia, to receive our welcome to this section meeting, and to tell us briefly of the care of dependent children in her country.

Miss SPENCE.—I have been for twenty years actively occupied in the care of children of all classes—destitute, neglected, deserted, uncontrollable and so-called criminal. I will say a few words as to our methods. There has not been so much voluntary work done in Australia probably as in America, but we have enlisted the co-operation of our several governments, which have availed themselves of the volunteer devotion, watchfulness and care of ladies all over the colonies, in order to keep up that inspection and supervision which are the very life and soul of boarding-out. If you are careless in placing your children in homes or in inspecting those homes, you will find they are neglected or overworked or under-educated.

In South Australia, of which I speak most definitely as knowing it best, we have a threefold method of ascertaining that the children of the state are cared for. We have volunteer lady visitors in each locality, and we place no child for boarding-out beyond the reach of some lady visitor. We have official inspection by an inspector, paid by the government, twice a year. We have also a quarterly report from the teacher of the school where the child attends, telling how many days that child has been at school and how many days absent, and if there are more than four or five days of absence in the quarter, the foster-parent is written to, and if no satisfactory reason is given, the child may be removed. Therefore the children of the state have more regular schooling than the children of poor parents, who are only bound to attend thirty-five days each quarter. This school report mentions how the child looks, whether it is respectably clothed, whether it is clean, whether it appears to be happily placed. This three-fold inspection ensures, I think, that the children shall not be taken to be worked too hard or merely for money. We frequently refuse to give children to a foster-mother who is too poor. We cannot allow it to be made a mere baby-farming business; that people should make their living out of what they receive for the children. The

board between two and thirteen years of age is five shillings (\$1.25) a week, which is to supply food, sufficient clothing and motherly care. If the child is sick, the doctor is sent for who is connected with the Department. All over the colony, wherever we have children, there is some medical man, to whom we pay something to look after our children, so that no illness is neglected. Our children do well at school; and I must say, that of all the children we have I think the prettiest and the sweetest are the illegitimate children, who have fallen into our hands through the desertion of the mothers, or through their incapacity to maintain them, or for some other reason.

There is in South Australia what we call the Destitute Asylum, a unique provision for unwedded mothers. They apply to this Destitute Asylum for shelter and care. The authorities of the asylum say to them, "If we give you this care, you must sign an engagement to remain here for six months and take care of your child." The women remain till they get strong. They do the washing and laundry work of the asylum. They are the only able-bodied women in the place, but they are able to take care of their infants and to do this work. At the end of six months care is taken that the woman goes to service with her infant if possible. With us it is sometimes rather difficult to secure this arrangement. They say, "The mother will always be thinking about her baby and she will not do my work." Well, if she cannot have her baby with her, she makes arrangements to board her child out. I agree with what Mrs. Wilson and Miss Balch said, that if you want to save the mother of an illegitimate child you must save her through her child and not without it. And I must say that I think the harshness with which an unwedded mother has been looked upon has been a curse to society. M. Van Geert spoke of the difficulty of boarding-out children. He said it was given up in Antwerp because the children were not well treated; that means that they were not well inspected. In Australia we do not allow children to be ill-treated, but we place them out in families. All the facts seem to point to this, that we must have the personal element in all our charity, but we need also to strengthen the voluntary work by some official background. We have copied the best things we could find in other countries into our Australian methods. We have copied the Massachusetts special court and probationary system for juvenile offenders. We believe that such offenders should be trained and disciplined in a better atmosphere than that in which they are found.

We believe that the state is as much bound as an individual would be to do the best that can be done for all dependent children. And we think the best thing is to give them the nearest possible to a real tender mother and father in a good home.*

The CHAIRMAN.—After this glowing speech we must all feel that the distance between America and Australia is as nothing, since the same heart-beat of love signals the life in both countries.

* For other facts about the care of children in Australia see pages 27-33, 37-46, in the report of the general session.

Will Mrs. CATHERINE McCULLOCK, a member of the executive board of the Children's Aid Society of Chicago, respond to a call to speak of the work of that society?

Mrs. McCULLOCK.—Mrs. Wilson's paper beautifully set forth the work of the society I represent. During the last two years we have placed 195 children, and 412 unmarried mothers with their children, thus making a total of 607 children. At first the children we cared for were given up by the mothers and placed away from them in families. It was found impossible, however, to bring these children up in health and strength, and that led us to persuade the mothers to keep and nourish their own little babies. At first also the work of our society was managed by men alone, but when we came to deal with this problem of caring for the mothers and their children by keeping them together, women were called in to assist. This society is not a state or a national but a city organization, and the task we have undertaken is a very large one even for this one city.

We have not found it difficult to find homes for unwedded mothers with their babies. Thus far there have been more good homes open to such women than there have been girls willing to enter them. Our method of securing these girls is to have our agent visit the maternity departments of the different hospitals and speak to the women, and some come to us voluntarily from hearing of the work of the society.

Some objection was made to placing unmarried mothers with their children in families by Dr. GREGG, a representative of the Children's Home Society of Chicago, and afterwards brief speeches were made, of which the following are synopses:

MOTHER BENEDICT of Iowa.—I have been thirteen years engaged in a work the aim of which is to provide a home and shelter to which the mother can go for care and Christian training. It is sometimes all right for the unmarried mother to keep her child and sometimes all wrong. There are such mothers who have good sense and are as capable of training their own children as any foster-parents would be, but society makes it so hard for that mother with her baby in her arms! I want a set of missionaries to go out and teach the Christian people! In the home I speak of, founded in our state capital, there are mothers capable in every way of caring for their children, and it would tear out their heart-strings if their children were taken from them. For these society should open its heart and encourage them to stand up as bravely as the fathers who so often sneak off and do nothing for either mother or child. I believe the title "Mrs." should be allowed such women for their protection. I am glad to see people stirred over this question, for these children belong to the Kingdom of Heaven, every one of them. The sacred duty that falls to me is the choice of the family I place a child in. I know many erring girls who have been cared for tenderly and who now stand well in society.

Mr. HOMER FOLKS, secretary of the State Charities Aid Association of New York.—Our association thought this matter of keeping mother and child together of such importance that it has hired a lady of long experience in charitable work to come to New York City for the express and single purpose of providing situations in the country for women with their children. The fear has been expressed that it may not be wise to send these mothers out into the community. Let us remember that about half of them are widows or deserted wives, and in regard to an unwedded mother it must be remembered that when she goes out with her child she goes with the greatest possible safeguard. The love of her child and the responsibility of caring for it have, in many cases, made her a new creature. The very essence of philanthropy seems to me to consist of bringing together those who desire to do right and those to whom doing right has become a settled habit.

A MEMBER.—I represent a society in Texas. We always take the child and the mother, and exact a pledge from the mother that she will remain with the child one year; and this cultivates the mother-love and gives us a fast hold upon the woman.

Mr. BIRTWELL.—I would let every mother have the title of "Mrs." It helps out. Bear in mind, too, that if you take a child from an unmarried mother, you do not thereby restore her reputation or put her in a secure position in the community.

Yet I confess it brings no unction to my soul to hear anybody say that there are more people willing to take the mothers with their children than there are mothers with children to be taken, just as it is so often said that there are more people wanting children than there are children needing homes. I want to know if there are enough places of the right sort, and whether the people who are doing the work know what "right sort" means, and how to guard against the wrong sort. I believe also that the mothers and children ought to be "supervised" week after week, month after month, year after year, just as truly as children placed in families unaccompanied by their mothers.

Exceptions to the rule of keeping the mothers and children together have been referred to. There are women, mothers of illegitimate children, who ought not to have the training of their children; but this is not because they are unmarried, but because they are otherwise unfit. In certain cases of abuse and neglect, whether the mother is married or unmarried, the law should step in and say, "You have sunk too low and you shall not keep that child." Then the mother and child should be separated; not because the child is illegitimate, but because the mother is an unfit guardian.

SECOND SECTION MEETING.

TUESDAY, JUNE 13, 1893, 10.30 A. M.

Mrs. ANNA GARLIN SPENCER, chairman.

The CHAIRMAN.—Yesterday we discussed fundamental questions relating to the classification and care of children who depend upon society by reason of defective parental responsibility. We are to continue the subject this morning with a discussion of the best methods of care for children who are thrust upon society, either in institutions or by methods of securing foster-homes. I have great pleasure in calling first to the platform Mr. HOMER FOLKS, secretary of The State Charities Aid Association of New York, to read his paper on *Family Life for Dependent and Wayward Children*; and as Mr. Folks has kindly divided his paper into two parts, the first dealing with dependent children, and the second treating of wayward children, I will ask him to read only Part I, as Part II will come in more appropriately and helpfully in the session especially devoted to wayward children and their care.

Mr. FOLKS then read the following paper:

FAMILY LIFE FOR DEPENDENT AND WAYWARD CHILDREN.

HOMER FOLKS.

PART I.—DEPENDENT CHILDREN.

In the preparation of this paper I have refrained from any discussion of the question, family life *vs.* institutional life. It has seemed to me that the consensus of opinion was so general on this point that I might safely take as my starting-point the *desirability* of family life, and proceed to inquire how it may be secured for the greatest proportion of dependent children during the largest part of their dependency, and how the plan may be made safe and efficient.

It is axiomatic that the degree of real success must depend upon the choice of suitable families. When a placing-out office is opened it is but natural that all sorts of people should apply. Rich and poor, temperate and intemperate, virtuous and vicious, from the city and from the country, good, indifferent and bad, representatives of all classes enroll themselves as applicants. The motives, too, of

these people are as diverse as their characters, varying from the purest altruism to the most diabolical selfishness. Evidently, therefore, the first necessity is some reliable method of sifting the desirable applications from the undesirable.

In examining the literature of placing-out one is equally impressed by two facts: first, the frequency of the statement, "careful selection of homes is of the greatest importance"; second, the absolute lack of specific methods and principles for our guidance in such selection. The following is probably a fairly accurate statement of what often occurs when a child is placed-out. A man or a woman appears unannounced, at the office of the placing-out agency or institution, in quest of a homeless, parentless child. He brings letters from a physician, a clergyman and a neighbor or two, stating that he bears a good moral character. If he is dressed respectably, is not evidently intemperate, and seems to be a kindly-disposed sort of person, he is quite sure, after a preliminary conversation, to take some child to his home that night. Especially if it seems to be an opportunity for disposing of a child who has been unusually burdensome or troublesome to the institution, the agent is apt to regard himself as "a good judge of human nature" and to pronounce any further "red-tape" unnecessary, if not improper. Of the seed thus sown broadcast a fair proportion may fall upon good ground, but some will surely fall by the wayside, some in stony places, and some among thorns. The sower too often does not pass that way again, and no doubt congratulates himself upon the harvest which his imagination pictures in golden colors. Others, however, are touched by the mute appeal of the tender plants, scorched and withered on the stony ground, or striving in vain to hold their own against the luxuriant growth of thorns in the midst of which they have been placed.

There is no more dangerous enemy to the family plan than he who administers it carelessly. Many of the children thus placed receive a minimum amount of education and personal interest, while a few flagrant cases become matters of newspaper notoriety, the whole placing-out system is discredited, and institutionism takes a firmer hold on the public mind and purse. I shall make no excuse, therefore, for outlining a method for selecting from this miscellaneous crowd, which fills our placing-out offices, the people who are willing and fitted to undertake the work which we, as the friend and guardian of the dependent child, have to offer.

We must first know beyond question that the people with whom

a child is to be placed are temperate, honest and kind. But how shall this be ascertained? We certainly cannot trust our impressions gained from an interview or a single visit to the home, nor open letters which the applicant brings in his hand, nor the reports of the people to whom he may refer us. Neither may we go to the other extreme and assert that no recommendations are of value; for the truth about a family, if learned at all, must be learned from the people who have known them and lived by them weeks, months and years. The saving feature of inquiry by reference is the fact that people prefer to tell the truth, provided they are sure they will not suffer loss by so doing. With this in mind, we must learn, from sources independent of the applicant, the names of responsible people living near him. To these people we must direct our appeal, stating that upon the truth of their report rests the welfare of some homeless child, that the person in question has not referred us to them and does not know of our communication, and that their reply will be held strictly confidential. The clergyman can then tell the honest truth without fear of diminishing his salary; the grocer, without fear of losing his customers; the justice of the peace, his fees; or the postmaster, his position. From the various state gazetteers, from lists of physicians, from the year-books of religious denominations, lists of county and town officers, from people with whom children have been safely placed, and from various other sources, a list of responsible people in any community may be secured. To at least six of these people a letter should be sent asking questions something like the following:—

1. Do you know Mr. A. to be of strictly temperate habits?
2. Is he a kind, even-tempered man?
3. What in general is the financial condition of the family?
4. Have they a pleasant, comfortable home?
5. Would you consider it in every respect a desirable home for a child?
6. Will you kindly state any further particulars that might assist us in our decision?

After a personal examination of more than 3000 such replies relating to some 750 applications, I do not recall a single case in which a rigid after-supervision indicated that a decided moral unfitness had passed the original investigation without detection.

But moral character, though too often the only subject of inquiry, does not alone constitute fitness for the work we have to offer. It is

one absolutely necessary condition, but many others are equally important. Indeed, we must have a comprehensive knowledge of all the circumstances and surroundings of the home life before we can make a wise decision. Such a knowledge may be secured by sending the applicant a list of inquiries including the following :—

1. Name and age of each member of the family.
2. Age, character and habits of employees, and whether they eat with the family and lodge in the same house.
3. Occupation of the head of the family. If a farmer, whether he is owner or tenant. Number of acres in the farm and what live stock is kept.
4. The distance from nearest church. Of what denomination? Are family regular attendants?
5. The distance from public school. During which months school is in session. Will the child be sent the full term?
6. Has the family ever received children from other charitable organizations?
7. Age, sex and disposition of child which is desired.
8. Would the child eat with the family, with whom would it sleep, would it attend social gatherings with the family and be treated in all respects as one of their number?
9. What is the principal motive in desiring to receive a child in the home?

This information is in the main reliable, for people hesitate to put in writing real falsehoods, and evasive answers point their own moral. From this statement of material conditions, without any reference to moral character, very many applications must be rejected; in the case of those granted, the information will always direct the choice of the individual child. The following instances illustrate the manner in which these various items of information will guide our decision. If they show that a farmer who has no children and keeps no hired man manages a farm of 100 acres, we shall be led to persuade him to pay a strong boy wages in preference to giving him a younger boy, who would be quite sure to be kept from school and overworked. Again, if a girl twelve or fourteen years of age is desired, and it is proposed that she shall not eat with the family, there being also a hired man who does not eat with the family, we must infer that the girl and the hired man will eat together in the kitchen, and a natural, almost inevitable acquaintance and companionship, removed from the oversight of the housewife, will spring up. Such applications

must be rejected, no matter how good the technical "moral character" of the people. From accepting such conditions have sprung the gravest evils connected with placing-out. Again, if a family of good character, in which there are several small children, manage a large farm, keeping two hired men and no female servant, and desire an orphan girl about twelve years of age, it is well to refer them to an intelligence office of equally good "moral character."

Other things being equal, I think that those families will be found most satisfactory in which there is a real want in the family life; that is, in cases of childless couples, or families in which the children are grown and have left home, or in which the children are of but one sex, or when a loved child has been lost and another is desired to take its place. Evidently it would not be well to place a boy of ten where there was already a boy of about that age in the family. The only motive would be the desire for service, and the attitude of the family toward the two boys would almost surely be wholly different. If the farmer's own boy were five or seven years of age it might be safe; but the agreement as to the attendance at school should be very explicit, and it should be understood that it would be rigidly enforced. It would be still more unwise to place a boy of ten or twelve in a family in which there was a daughter of about the same age. It is extremely important for us to remember that the natural barriers between the sexes which obtain within the family lines do not exist, apparently, with the placed-out child, unless placed in the family when quite young. Some have even said that no child should be placed in a family in which there is a child of the opposite sex, unless one of the children is an infant. Is it not evident, however, that less difference of age is necessary when the older of the children is the girl? Between just what limits of age there is safety is one of those questions which can only be settled by a conference between people who have had wide experience and have been careful observers.

In the process of the investigation of the home we have now secured all the information that can be gained from correspondence, but this is not enough. There may be conditions in the home life which have not been brought to light, because it is not possible to include all conditions in any set of inquiries. No child, therefore, *should be placed in any home which has not been visited previously by an experienced agent, an expert.* This visit should be made leisurely, with eyes and ears alert to gain every item of information.

The general character of the neighborhood should be considered, the influence of neighborhood being often next in strength to that of the family itself. When the notes of this visit have been carefully written and filed with the preceding correspondence, we have an impersonal, complete record; and if, as often happens, the particular people who made the investigation move to a far country, or take up other work, their successors have at hand a full and reliable statement of the situation. When the main purpose of this statement, namely, the selection of the home, has been fulfilled, it should still be carefully preserved, not only as a protection to the society against unfair criticism, but also, what is vastly more important, to furnish reliable data for wise judgments in the after-supervision of the placed-out child.

If the applicant's written statement of *material conditions*, and the verdict of his neighbors as to *moral character*, and the personal visit of the expert agent are all favorable, we may proceed to select a child for this particular home. Here there is large place for sympathetic insight into human compatibilities and that intuitive reading of character to which we have thus far given small scope.

But when our homes are thus carefully and conscientiously selected, our work is only well begun. Radical changes may take place in the family. The relation of the child to the family may be modified. The child may be brought in contact with vicious associates. The attendance at school or church may be neglected. Some objectionable feature may have passed unnoticed in the original investigation. For these reasons *efficient supervision of placed-out children is absolutely necessary*. The principal feature of this supervision should be *unannounced personal visits by an expert agent*. The frequency of these visits must vary with the age of the child when placed-out, and the degree of faithful co-operation previously shown by the foster-parents. There should be never less than one, usually three or four, and often more, such visits each year. Unless the visitor is a person of tact, sympathy, firmness and experience, his work will of course have little value. It *may* result in fancied safety when there are conditions of great danger. All this matter of placing-out is eminently expert labor. The agent should be carefully selected, well paid, given large freedom in his work, and retained, except for cause, for a term of years.

A matter which usually requires most careful attention is the attendance at school. As to this point more prompt and frequent

information is necessary than can be gained by the visitor. The visit may not be made till near the close of the school year. Then if there has been dereliction, even if the child is removed, the opportunity for a year of mental training has been irrevocably lost. The same thing might occur the next year and the year after. The teacher should be furnished with a set of blank reports, and asked to send, at the close of each month, a statement of the number of days school has been in session, the attendance of the child, and its progress in each study. Any curtailment of school privileges thus becomes known at once and should receive very prompt attention. A quarterly report from the pastor of the family as to the child's moral and religious training will be an additional safeguard, and interest another helpful person in the welfare of the child.

The help of volunteer local visitors is of much value in investigation and in supervision; but from the fact of its being nearly always intermittent, and frequently influenced by local interests or the unwillingness to lose the good-will of neighbors and acquaintances, it should, in my opinion, always be supplementary to the work of paid expert agents both in investigation and supervision.

If any have followed the uninteresting details of this system of investigating and selecting homes, they will very likely feel that it is too elaborate; that it would be impracticable, if not impossible, to put into actual practice such a complicated scheme. To this I need only remark that if such a plan is necessary in order to make the family system safe, we have no right to call it too elaborate, and that for some years two of the most successful placing-out agencies in the country, the Children's Aid Society of Pennsylvania, and the Boston Children's Aid Society, have used systems very similar to this and rather more elaborate.

We have not yet spoken of the terms on which children may be safely and properly entrusted to families—a matter in regard to which there is great diversity both in practice and in opinion. Legal adoption, securing for the child the full standing and rights of an own child, including heirship, is, of course, the ideal; but, as a matter of fact, it is very rarely secured, except for children placed out under three years of age. The more usual arrangement is that of the indenture, a legal contract, the essential feature being that the child is compelled to remain with the family until he reaches a certain age, if a boy eighteen, if a girl twenty-one. It must be said that the earlier forms of these legal indentures seem to have been

drawn with the sole idea of "protecting" the foster-parents against the loss of the child's services, and afforded little or no safeguard to the child against the possible cupidity or cruelty of the master. The provision for the education of the child was either vague and indefinite or wretchedly inadequate. There stands upon the statute-books of New York a law, re-enacted in 1884, which states that in every indenture it shall be provided "that the child shall be instructed to read and write, and, if a male, in the elements of arithmetic, and at the expiration of the term of indenture shall be given a new Bible"!

While among progressive institutions the terms of indenture have been much modified in the interest of the child, there is a growing feeling that any legal contract compelling a child to serve a master for a certain term of years, mortgaging his future to pay for his present, affects unfavorably the standing of the child in the community and in the mind of the foster-parent, degenerating in its worst phases into something little better than slavery. Nor is it apparent that any inflexible contract can meet varying conditions. If the agreement is to be based, as it should be, on equity, it must take into account the age of the child when placed, his physical strength, his previous training, the amount of attendance at school, and many other factors. The Children's Aid Societies of New York, Boston, Pennsylvania, and perhaps others, use no written agreement whatever, but adjust the terms from year to year as the developments of each individual case seem to require, excepting, of course, in cases of legal adoption. This method gives perfect flexibility and is undoubtedly the best plan, provided it is guarded by an ever-vigilant supervision, but is possibly the worst plan of all if not so guarded. It should be stated in this connection that no agreement, written or unwritten, is either just or wise which contemplates conditions for these children any different from the conditions of the other children of the community of like age. Any plan which compels or allows these children to work when the others are at play or in school, or to give services without pay for which others under like circumstances receive wages, is as unwise as it is unjust, and is a disgrace to the people of any state.

To reject unflinchingly all applications which this sifting process has shown to be undesirable requires courage. Placing-out is not easy work. The current statement, "there are always more applications than children," which so generally passes at par value, must be heavily discounted if we mean suitable homes and without pay-

ment. It is true as regards healthy infants, and in some seasons of the year for children evidently able to work. It is not true with regard to ordinary boys from four to eight or ten years of age, it is not true as regards delicate or unattractive children, or children who may be reclaimed by parents. Many advocates of the family plan seem to believe that it is only necessary that the managers of institutions should be willing to place-out; that if the doors of the institutions can only be opened, crowds of benevolent people will press in and carry away every child to a happy home. This, alas! is contrary to the general experience. As one has said, "We must go far and wide into the world with lanterns in our hands, looking, like Diogenes, for an honest man and a good woman, and we must look till we find them." Institutions will remain in their present congested condition until their managers are not simply willing to place-out, but are ready to take active, aggressive measures in finding and using suitable homes.

Even then the institution population will hardly be materially diminished, until we add to our plan one more provision, namely, payment for board of children in families when necessary. The family plan as usually understood, that is, without provision for payment for board in special cases, cannot provide for that very large class of dependent children whose parents are living and have not forfeited their natural rights by unnatural neglect or cruelty. It is an injustice to respectable parents to remove their children permanently at the first blow of misfortune, and thoughtful people will not often receive such children into their homes, expecting them to be permanent members of their households, if the whole truth has been told. There is also a large class of children who are unattractive in appearance, or who have some slight physical, mental or moral defect or peculiarity which turns the balance against them when foster-parents are making their choice. Even if the defect be successfully concealed and the people take with them an undesirable child, the deception is soon discovered and the child returned, often with exaggerated stories of moral perversity. There is also a large class of children whose early years have not been childhood. Premature burden-bearing has left no place for happy, innocent play, for kindergarten or school. The physical growth and the mental development have been stunted alike. These are the children who, more than any others, need a country home and a mother's love. Yet, without payment for board, they are either retained for years in

the institution, or, if placed-out in free homes, they are soon returned with the complaint, "so slow and dull." "Slow and dull" indeed! "Weak and untrained" are more often the proper words. Many believe that here is found a necessity for an institution in which such children may be trained a year or two and made "ready for families," that is, serviceable.

Beyond question we have here reached a limitation of the family plan without payment, and it now becomes a choice between an institution and boarding in families. To those who reject boarding in families, an institution becomes at this point a necessity, both in theory and practice. Those, however, who accept the other alternative, namely, the principle of the payment for board of such children in families, argue that the need is not to "make the child ready for family life," but to make the *conditions of the family ready for the child*; to obviate the demand for services by paying for the child's maintenance in the family, where, they believe, he rightfully belongs. The great majority of children who are returned after being placed in homes, are returned, not because of moral perversity, but because of their inability to render a certain amount of service which the foster-parents rightfully expected. In most cases the boy was not a bad boy, but a bad bargain. He was a small boy, a weak boy. He was not able to be self-supporting, not ready to face life's battle yet; and the parent, or whoever stood in place of parent, must bear the burden of his support for a year or two longer. The boy did not need special or industrial training; he needed more muscle, more climbing of trees, more running after rabbits, more play, more childhood.

I believe that this issue can and must be met on purely business principles. If we try to get something for which we give no return, we degrade ourselves and our children, and find in the end, as all such people do, that we have been chasing an *ignis fatuus*. Two things are needed—good, healthy, average family life for those children who are not especially attractive, are too old for adoption and too young to be serviceable; and second, special care, wise training, and extra school privileges for those who are old enough but not strong enough to be serviceable, or whose earlier education has been neglected. These things we cannot secure, except in very rare cases, without payment for board. That they can be secured by such payment is amply proven by the success of boarding-out in Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Australia and many European countries.

The Children's Aid Societies of Pennsylvania and Boston, which receive and care for dependent children of all ages and conditions, have for them no institution whatever. Whenever the alternative between an institution and payment for board in a private family is presented, the latter is accepted. Their undoubted success proves that the plan is as good in practice as it is in theory.

But philanthropic people ask, will not this boarding-out break down entirely the system of adoption and free or permanent homes? If some families are paid for the care of children, will it not discourage other people who might have taken a child without payment and from benevolent motives? The best answer to this objection lies in the fact, that where boarding-out on this principle, namely, of paying when necessary to secure proper care, has been tried, it has not hindered, but has greatly assisted in the finding of free homes, and that there is just as much benevolence, and just as little, in boarding-out as in placing in free homes. The reasons for this are not far to seek. The facts in human life which create the demand for children for adoption or free homes are too deep-seated to be affected by the fact that other children are received for payment. I will frankly avow my conviction that, whatever the future may hold in store for dependent children, people do not at present, except in very rare instances, apply for children from a desire to do good, but from a desire to secure for themselves either company or service. The demand is of great value in our system of benevolent work, but is not itself benevolent. I do not mean to suggest that the motives are evil, they are simply neutral. The demand for young children for adoption, legal or otherwise, is simply the expression of that universal desire for the presence and affection of children which is everywhere one of the most constant factors of human life. It is no more benevolent than is the appetite for food. The same desire for the inspiration, cheerfulness and sunshine which the presence and companionship of a child brings, is present in varying degree in many of the applications for older children. In the demand for older children there is also present in varying degree a second element—the desire for service; a perfectly legitimate and a valuable factor, but neither benevolent nor necessarily evil. These two things, the desire for companionship and the desire for service, have actuated the people who come to our placing-out offices to apply for children.

Boarding-out, in the sense described above, does not satisfy, and hence does not remove either of these demands, in so far as they are

legitimate demands. It does not satisfy the desire for companionship, because there is always, so long as a child is boarded, the certainty that sooner or later it will be removed, unless in due time it is kept free of charge by the same family, as so frequently occurs. To those who really wish a child "as their own," present satisfaction is forbidden by the certainty of future separation. It does not satisfy the desire for services, because while the child is boarded he must be sent to school from September until June, and given more personal attention and care than he can possibly return. He is boarded simply because he cannot with justice to his future be now serviceable. But boarding-out does foster both these demands, because it places the young child in the family where nature can develop an affection, which in many cases results in its adoption; the older child it places in a family where in some degree the attachments are also developed, and where the child is under conditions and receiving training which will enable it to be serviceable at the earliest moment. "The family plan," without any provision for payment when necessary, is not the family plan. It is only a part of it, and should be called "the family system, so far as it can be utilized without cost." If we believe in the divine, developing power of the family, shall we not be willing to lay upon its altar as much of our gold as we do upon that of its artificial imitation?

A MEMBER.—I want to say just one word with reference to the children being bound out. I have in my mind a woman who is very wealthy: she has taken from institutions ten girls, and every one of those ten girls needs to be protected against that woman. It seems to me that it would be well to have a woman expert look after these affairs.

The CHAIRMAN.—I regret to say that the lady has in part condemned herself. When we suffer a wrong in our community we are ourselves to blame.

Mr. BIRTWELL.—May I say that in Massachusetts a timid person could report such a case to the Massachusetts Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, by which the institution that was responsible would be called to account.

The CHAIRMAN.—I shall call for the reading of the next paper before we further open the discussion, because we have eager minds here ready to pour forth their wit and wisdom upon us. I will say that Prof. FRANCIS H. WHITE, Professor of History and Political Science in Kansas State Agricultural College, intended to read his own paper, but he was suddenly called away by the illness of a relative, and Mr. Birtwell will read his paper.

THE PLACING-OUT SYSTEM IN THE LIGHT OF ITS RESULTS.

FRANCIS H. WHITE.

The conclusions presented in this paper are founded upon an investigation into the after-life of the children placed in Kansas by the New York Children's Aid Society. The state, as you know, is centrally located, and its people and physical features are fairly typical of the other states in the Mississippi valley where thousands of children have been given homes. My interest in the work dates back to a time when I was superintendent of the Brooklyn Children's Aid Society. Five years ago I accepted a chair in the State Agricultural College of Kansas, a position which has brought me in contact with the class of people among whom most of the children have been placed.

The agencies within the state engaged in placing-out children are a few private institutions, whose work is not extensive, and a state institution, established a few years ago, which receives and trains dependent children, and finds homes for them through the aid and supervision of the county superintendents of public instruction. There is no organized system of boarding-out children such as is practised in some other states.

Two societies having headquarters outside of Kansas are engaged in placing-out children within it. These are the Chicago Children's Home Society and the New York Children's Aid Society. The first has done little in the state, but the second has accomplished a large work, extending over a long period of time. There are other states in which it has operated more extensively than in this, indeed it has placed out over 75,000 children in various parts of the country since 1857. There is good reason to believe that the work done in Kansas is a fair sample of what it has done everywhere.

At my request, an official of the New York Children's Aid Society made a careful examination of their records and vouches for the following general summary:—

The total number of children placed in homes among the residents of Kansas is 960, of whom 13 per cent. were girls.

2 per cent. are known to be dead.

10 per cent. have no records. These were mainly large boys placed early in the history of the society.

3 per cent. were returned as not satisfactory because of some mental or physical disability.

10 per cent. left their homes within the first few years.

2 per cent. have bad records, that is, were guilty of some serious misdemeanor.

7 per cent. have poor records.

22 per cent. have very fair records.

44 per cent. have excellent records.

The average age of the children was 12.3 years.

84 per cent. of those under eight years do well.

It will be noticed that only 66 per cent. of the whole work is known to be successful. Let us examine somewhat more closely into the history of these children in order to discover the reasons for this rather low percentage.

Two New York Children's Aid Society parties have been selected, the first composed of boys between the ages of fourteen and seventeen, and undoubtedly typical of the methods and results of the early work; the second chiefly made up of children under fourteen. Considerable inquiry has been made by the writer, and the facts collected have been added to the records as they appear on the Society's books. Still, much desirable information is lacking, especially in regard to the party placed in 1867, the first taken to Kansas. Both the boys and the pioneer farmers with whom they were placed have moved frequently, and hence tracing the path of two such erratic bodies has proved quite difficult. In the list numbers have been substituted for names, and only the essential facts are stated.

PARTY PLACED IN KANSAS, 1867.

1. Reported a good boy, but no record after first year, though many letters have been sent.

2. Wrote once. No trace of him since.

3. Stayed nine months, then went west and has never been heard from.

4. Remained about two years, then ran away. Some years later served a term in the penitentiary. Afterwards wrote his foster-parent he was employed and doing fairly well.

5. Left after staying a few months.

6. Stayed about a year and a half, then went to Michigan, where he married and still lives.

7. Soon left.

8. Remained in place for several years, then went elsewhere in the neighborhood to work. Not been in the vicinity for many years.

9. No replies to letters sent.

10. Was a good boy, but died in second year.

11. Left the first year.

12. A good boy, but met with accident and went east for treatment. Nothing known of him since.

13. Did well. Is now married; has children of his own, and is living near a large western city, employed as a railroad conductor.

14. Left the first year.

15, 16. Brothers. Placed with same man. No record or replies to seven letters sent.

17. Stayed six months, then went to live with another man in the vicinity. Now has considerable property and is highly respected.

18. No record or replies to letters.

The chairman of the committee that found homes for these boys is still living and is a man of some prominence in the community. He remembers very well the disappointment of the farmers when they found the boys were over fourteen, for they had requested younger children, knowing well they could not induce the older ones to remain. The chairman seemed quite sure that the farmers had no intention of doing a charitable act nor of satisfying their own longing for children, but that they simply wished to obtain cheap labor, as the boys were only to receive board and clothes for their services. He says that when he expressed doubt as to whether the boys ought to be placed with these men without any written agreement on the part of the latter to take good care of them, the agent laughed and told him not to worry about that; if the homes were not agreeable to them they would soon leave. Not one of this party now resides in the county, and only two are known to live in Kansas. Over half of the persons with whom they were placed are dead or have moved out of the county, and their present address is unknown to former acquaintances.

PARTY PLACED IN KANSAS, 1884.

1. Age 6. Visited one year later and found he was doing well and had excellent home; frequent good reports; now working out and earning \$10 per month; goes by his foster-parents' name.

2. Age 17. Wrote same year thanking Society for home. In 1891 joined regular army, was assigned to infantry band, and stationed in New Mexico. Has written and published some poems, and now employs leisure time studying Spanish and translating poetry. Reports he is saving money and has joined the church.

3. Age 6. Stayed until man with whom placed moved away, then went to live in town near by and is now doing well.

4. Age 12. Stayed until man moved away, then went to live with excellent family; still there and doing well.

5. Age 9. Stayed until man broke up housekeeping, then went elsewhere, and when last heard from was doing well.

6. Age 12. Visited and found to be doing well; letters confirmed report; died in 1888 of consumption.

7. Age 10. Remained six years, then went to New Mexico; returned, and later reported doing well.

8. Age 14. No replies to letters sent.

9. Age 9. Visited and found to be doing well; remained seven years and then went to work for himself; now reported to be making a good living.

10. Age 10. Visited and reported as getting along all right and that he had joined the church; stayed three years; is now in neighborhood and said to be succeeding.

11. Age 8. Visited and reported a good boy; remained till 1889, then left and has worked in several places since.

12. Age 12. Remained for several years, was slow and stubborn, but a good worker; went to Colorado and then returned, and is now reported as in the neighborhood, but "doing no good."

13. Age 16. An excellent young woman; married a relative of the man with whom she was placed, and is doing well.

14. Age 6. Visited and found to have a good home, but after three years left it; reported that he lied and stole and could not be managed; brought back, but was dissatisfied, and was transferred to another home, where he did fairly well. Later, taken to New York and placed in the Eye and Ear Infirmary for treatment.

15. Age 5½. Visited and found to be doing well; failing health of his foster-parent made it necessary to give him another home, where he is now living and getting along well; is well liked.

16. Age 6. Visited and found to be doing well; a letter from foster-parent says boy goes by his name; a recent letter, that "he is satisfied with them and they with him."

17. Age 7½. Stayed until foster-parents gave up housekeeping, then went to another home, where she is reported to be contented, giving fair satisfaction, though she is not very intelligent.

18, 19, 20, 21. Ages 15, 13, 12, 11. Brothers and sisters; all doing well at last account; one of them now owns an eighty-acre farm.

My comments on the placing-out of children will be grouped under the heads: the Child, the Home, and Supervision.

THE CHILD.

Pass in review a few of the types of dependent children that have come under your observation: the stolid, obstinate, coarse-grained; the restless, slippery, unstable; the sensitive, sympathetic, fine-grained. What a complex of characteristics is each! Our natures at birth are the resultants of strong yet subtle influences acting through unnumbered years upon our ancestors. If I may be allowed to use Wordsworth's thought,

"Our birth is but a sleep and a forgetting:
The soul that rises with us, our life's star,
Hath had elsewhere its setting,
And cometh from afar;
Not in entire forgetfulness,
And not in utter nakedness,"

Would that he expressed the whole truth when he goes on to say,

"But trailing clouds of glory do we come!"

How often are the clouds that rise with the "life's star," dark, ominous, lowering, casting a shadow out of which the soul never comes!

But we must not lay too much stress upon heredity. For my part, I am more and more persuaded of the mighty power of environment when brought to bear upon a plastic nature. Perhaps we have been misled by analogies with plants and animals. The laws that govern the lower orders of life have been too hastily applied to man. There is danger of our forgetting that he is vastly more than a plant, a brute—he is a rational creature, with all that that involves. He has reached the stage in development of "conscious improvement." The spiritual nature is far more susceptible to training, to influences from without directed towards a definite end, than is the physical body. Extensive changes in the physical organism, in structure or

appearance, often require long periods of time and successive efforts, generation after generation. The spiritual self, on the contrary, can be essentially modified in a lifetime in a truly wonderful way. I have seen some remarkable transformations even in a four years' college course.

It is this plasticity of spirit that inspires us with hope in our reformatory work. But more and more it is borne in on us that the child must be taken out of its evil surroundings early in life; a delay of a few years, of a single year, may make the development of an upright character impossible. Truly,

"Heaven lies about us in our infancy."

"Heaven"—possibilities of happiness. But just as truly,

"Shades of the prison-house begin to close
Upon the growing boy."

No one can have watched the development of child-life without noticing the increasing difficulty of bending, influencing, controlling. True, as the child matures, the reason can be brought more and more to the aid of the emotions; yet by the time he reaches the age when the reason can be appealed to successfully, habit's iron bands, the "prison-house," have begun to close around the growing boy, and then there must be a struggle against nature, or rather against second nature.

The facts fully support this theory. In 1884 Mr. H. H. Hart, secretary of the Minnesota State Board of Charities, made an investigation of the work in that state of the New York Children's Aid Society, and came to the following conclusions:

"From our experience we are positive in the opinion that children above the age of twelve years ought not to be sent west by the Children's Aid Society. In this opinion I understand the officers of the Society concur. Our examination shows with reference to the children under thirteen years old, that nine-tenths remain, four-fifths are doing well, and all incorrigibles are cared for by the Society. If properly placed and faithfully supervised, we are willing to take our full share of the younger children in Minnesota."

My investigation of the work done in Kansas demonstrates the same thing. "Eighty-four per cent. of the children under eight years do well." Of the party placed in 1867, composed of boys between the ages of fourteen and seventeen, by far the larger part

drifted away or turned out badly ; while just the reverse is true of the party placed in 1884, composed of children for the most part twelve years old or under. The histories of other children I have traced confirm me in this opinion. It seems clear that the earlier children are placed, the more likely are the results to be satisfactory.

See, too, the picking and choosing that is necessary in making up a party to go west. From the street, the newsboys' homes, the charitable institutions, come the applicants for western homes, bright, dull, hardened, sad, gay—their natures so different, their friendless and homeless condition so similar. Will the net take all? No! only the gold fish,—the "gilt-edged children," as they are popularly called. This astonishes us at first. Nearly every one pictures the work as an effort to relieve the city of the bad, not the good, dependent children.

Why does the Society refuse to send west the hardened, the incorrigible, the vicious? For two reasons: first, the west would not take them, and second, they could not be induced to remain in the homes provided. The experiment was tried repeatedly in the early history of the work, but almost invariably failed.

THE HOME.

This word has magic in it. Up before our mental vision come trooping memories: figures of loved ones—mother; toil, lightened by love; sorrow, sweetened by sympathy! Who, having once experienced a true home, can forget it, or lose, no matter how long he lives, the deep tracings of its various influences? I said a true home. There are thousands upon thousands of such only in name—no love, no light. Of course it may be said, "a poor home is better than none," but admitting this, let us ask if, in this placing-out work, sufficient attention is given to the selection of homes.

Examining the figures given in the first part of this paper, it will be seen that ten per cent. of the children placed in Kansas left their homes within the first few years, and that seven per cent. had poor records. Our first impulse is to blame the result upon the children, and yet on full consideration and actual knowledge of the facts, we are almost sure to conclude that the home is as often at fault as the child.

Think for a moment how great, under the haphazard system of selection, are the chances for the "round peg to get into the square hole." Most of these children at the time of placing are old enough

to have acquired fixed habits, strong likes and dislikes. The family life into which they are introduced is, of course, already formed. What great chances there are, then, for misfits, bad adaptations. Some children are as irritating to a home as a grain of sand to an oyster; but, unfortunately, few homes, like few oysters, are able to transform the foreign substance into a priceless pearl, "a thing of beauty, a joy forever."

Actual experience proves the statement that the homes are as often at fault as the children. Rev. M. V. B. Van Arsdale, general superintendent of the Chicago Children's Home Society, writes me:—

"Family homes fail as often as children fail, and in about the same degrees. We find replacement not against the child as a rule. By replacement we find the child obtains a home where he is good, when in another home he was reported very bad. The home makes him good.

"A woman is a terror to a homeless child or she by degrees wins and holds him. Always she is the principal factor in our success or failure in placing children. A boy will never leave a loving woman. If the man kicks him outside and the woman caresses him inside the home, he sticks, never runs away."

My belief that the home is frequently to blame has been strengthened by letters I have received from boys placed in Kansas. Of course due allowance has been made for boy-nature, and especially for the nature of boys unaccustomed to a farm, with its unceasing round of toil and its dull, monotonous life. But even after making such allowance it is plain that many mistakes in placing have been made. In some cases, no doubt, the homes were entirely unfit, they were not homes in the true sense; in others there was simply a mismating of natures too mature for ready adaptation.

Undoubtedly it is a difficult thing to find the right home for each child. To do so with reasonable success would perhaps more than double the cost. But what of that? Better do one-half as much work and do that twice as well. This principle I believe all those engaged in reformatory work are acting upon more and more; less and less is made of quantity, more of quality.

THE SUPERVISION.

But after the child is placed in the home, what then?

Shall he be left without supervision, and letter-writing be relied upon to keep the Society posted as to his condition and prospects?

Emphatically, No! An examination of the records of the 1867 party suggests very strongly that quite a number were lost track of because letter-writing was the only dependence.

Shall the supervision be entirely entrusted to a local committee? Again, No! The members of this committee are almost sure to be overburdened with charitable and religious duties, and besides, usually they have neither the special ability nor the experience that would enable them to perform satisfactorily the delicate and difficult work required of an inspector.

A far better system is the one the New York Children's Aid Society is improving in effectiveness. The children are placed by an agent assisted by a local committee. The work of each placing agent is examined within a short time by an experienced inspector, who makes such changes as, in his judgment, the circumstances seem to require. Visits are made thereafter at intervals.

It must be admitted there is danger from a too apparent watchfulness. The child may be tempted to treasure up his supposed wrongs in order to pour them into the ear of the inspector. Naturally by brooding over them they increase in size. The foster-parent's influence may be weakened, and he may be unable to mould the child's character as otherwise he might do. There is danger, too, that a close surveillance may make the foster-parents self-conscious and restrained in their relations with the children, and this would certainly lead to a loss of love and confidence on both sides.

The Society about whose work in Kansas we have been writing holds indisputable proof that quite a number of the children placed in homes in other states have done remarkably well. Two have been governors of states, one a mayor of a city, another a legislator; others have been ministers, wealthy business men and farmers, doctors, lawyers and teachers. We are obliged to own, however, that as yet the fertile soil, the "Italian sky," the salubrious climate of Kansas have failed to develop a single one of these 960 into a genius or even a politician. Nevertheless, I am glad to say that many of these children are to-day useful, upright citizens, making an honest living as farmers, mechanics, business men; a few are teachers, and one at least is a minister. They have taken their places with the great majority, the untalented toilers, and are faithfully carrying forward the world's work.

The CHAIRMAN.—I find myself confronted with an embarrassment of riches in view of this audience, and I want to call the name of Mr. CHARLES LORING BRACE, who has succeeded his father as secretary of the New York Children's Aid Society.

Mr. BRACE.—I am greatly interested in this paper of Professor White's, but I did not come here with any idea of speaking to the public. I came to listen to the exercises. I did not even know that there was a paper to be read here that dealt so largely with the work of the New York Children's Aid Society. I wish, though, to thank Prof. White. It seemed to me that the paper was very fair. He said, however, a great deal about a party sent out west in 1867. At that time the New York Children's Aid Society was quite a small affair. The funds of the Society were very small. There was no money at that time for visitors to any large extent, nor for the careful supervision that we are now able to give. So that I think it is not fair to judge the work by that party of '67. At this time, as the Professor said, we have a great many inspectors. We have four inspectors travelling all the time, and four inspectors who are residents of western states, who visit the homes and see that the children are sent to school and well taken care of.

The CHAIRMAN.—I feel some hesitation in calling upon Mrs. COOPER, whom we all know best in connection with the kindergarten work, but I would like it if she would tell us what the sentiment is upon the Pacific slope. Is it looking towards this family system in other homes, or is it still clinging to the institutional ideas?

Mrs. SARAH B. COOPER, president of the Golden Gate Kindergarten Association of San Francisco.—The consensus of opinion and thought in regard to this matter on the Pacific coast, and notably in San Francisco, is toward the family home life. The institution at Whittier, as you probably know, is doing a great work and receiving the boys and girls that otherwise would be in the jails and prisons, but the primal aim even there is to get the home life for the inmates just as fast and as far as possible.

In regard to my own experience personally with sixteen thousand children and more during the last sixteen years, we were compelled to part some of them from their parents, but we never did that if we could help it. It is the very last resort to take a child away from the parent or the home, no matter how miserable it may be. The effort should be to lift up the home. It is a very difficult thing to do that. It is hard work, it is slow work, but we are getting at it through the mothers, and we are lifting up the homes and getting them into condition to care for the children.

There are two sides to this question of placing children in foster-homes. I have confronted the other side of the question in a very sad way within the last two months. I have frequently placed children in homes of childless parents. In one instance where I have taken every pains to get a lovely little girl for the childless parents, I have only brought misery into that home, and why? Fourteen

years nearly have passed since one of these little girls was placed, and she grew up to the age of thirteen or fourteen, as lovely a child as you could wish to see. There was the family altar, the lovely foster-parentage, as pure and fleckless as a home could be, but what was the outcome? I have been pursuing that beautiful young woman to Sacramento and other cities to get her back to a life of rectitude, and I have entreated, and done everything I could, and in spite of all she would go wrong. The last paper touched upon the great law of heredity, and through the operation of that law I inflicted great agony and pain in placing this beautiful child with those lovely parents, the outcome being what it is. In another instance I have found a little baby and placed it in a noble family, and the child is not known except as their own child, and so far everything is just exactly as the foster-parents would want it. Over against this comes the other dreadful experience, and I should like to know the experiences in this respect of those who place out children.

Rev. GEORGE K. HOOVER, superintendent of the Iowa Children's Home Society.—I was intensely interested in the ideas of Mrs. Cooper, but with gracious deference to her last statement, allow me to suggest that the data were not broad enough. I have known the daughter of a bishop to go to ruin, and the daughters of ministers, United States Senators and others. I have had some little experience, and am very sure that in our placing-out work we have brought pleasure to nineteen where we have brought sorrow to one.

Our Children's Home Society has a state superintendent, who, as the gentleman from New York has suggested, is a carefully selected inspector, in the state all the while. We have the state divided into districts so that but ten to fifteen counties are under the supervision of a district superintendent engaged in that work all the time, residing in his one district and circulating over the district constantly. We have local advisory boards chosen by the aid of the pastors of the various churches, and selected for their ability—not simply because they have good warm hearts, but because they have level heads as well. We have these three features: the state superintendent, the district superintendent, and the local advisory boards. In selecting our local advisory boards we give them to understand distinctly that all of their communications to us are in entire confidence, and in Iowa, with over 900 boards, we have not brought one advisory board into conflict with its neighbors.

Of course, human efforts are more or less imperfect, but among all the children we have placed we have not found one case of extreme neglect or abuse. It is true that we have found some cases that we have thought best to move, and let me say right here that the idea of replacing a child is a good idea; for every home doesn't suit every child, and every child doesn't suit every home. A little girl was placed in a minister's home; after three months' trial they brought her back. We placed her again, and they said they wouldn't have

her, and I carefully selected a third home. Now I get letters from there containing sentences like this: "Don't know how you knew just what kind of a girl we wanted." I can't tell and you can't tell why the minister's family didn't suit the child; I can't tell and you can't tell why the second home wouldn't have the child; and we can't tell why the third home was exactly suited and the child suited; but there is environment, and I will give more for environment any day than birth. God helping us, we can lift these children up out of the unfortunate conditions of their birth.

The CHAIRMAN.—We want to hear a word from Mr. M. V. CROUSE, superintendent of the Children's Home of Cincinnati.

Mr. CROUSE.—The Children's Home of Cincinnati has placed somewhat over thirty-four hundred children in homes. They have not aimed to do an immense work, but to do a good work. With this in view, they have preferred to place the little children, and three-fourths are perhaps under the age of seven years. About eighty-three per cent. of these have turned out as well as other people's children.

Mrs. COOPER.—I want to say just a word lest I be misunderstood. I am constantly putting out children. This one sad experience does not make any difference. But I tell the parents who take the children everything that I know in regard to their parentage, and then they take their own chances.

Mr. CROUSE.—We consider that the worst thing that can be done.

Mr. CHAS. E. FAULKNER.—I have been interested in the paper of Prof. White. I have been in the work, and had charge of Kansas children for some years, for eight years as secretary of the State Board of Trustees of Charitable Institutions, and for the last five years as superintendent of our Soldiers' Orphans' Home. We propose to take these boys and teach them everything about a farm, so that when a boy goes out to a farmer he can educate the farmer. We propose to improve the farmer's home by giving the children this preliminary training.

In our state we have an institutional system—the Michigan system which Kansas, Minnesota and Wisconsin have adopted with so much success. I am willing to admit that the Children's Aid Societies are doing a grand work, but we can lay down no arbitrary rule that a state should not have a home for neglected children, that children should not be trained in such homes under state authorities, because that is being proved in some states to be the wisest plan for an agricultural population.

Our people are people of moderate means. The farming population of the great West are men of moderate intelligence, men without college education, men who make their living from the soil. We propose to take the dependent boys of Kansas and give them this preliminary training in the state school, and then put them into families and make them a benefit to the farmers of our state.

Mr. M. V. B. VAN ARSDALE, general superintendent of the Children's Home Society of Chicago.—When an institution keeps an average boy until he has become old enough to be wanted for labor, and not to fill the place of a child, then I believe there is a lack of duty to that boy. There is only one way to train a boy, and that is where we naturally live—where there are father and mother, brother and sister, school and church and community.

Mr. CLARENCE SNYDER, president of the State Board of Control of Wisconsin.—I have been intensely interested in this discussion. There is a wonderful vista of suggestiveness that opens here before us. I will say for our work in Wisconsin that in the last two years we have placed-out three hundred and fifty children. We have one state agent employed in connection with the State Public School who goes about the state constantly, and we are contemplating the employment of two others, one woman and one man. Of children's aid societies and children's home societies in this class of work, of which we have heard so much to-day and yesterday, we know comparatively little in Wisconsin. Our children are, however, pretty well placed-out and taken care of. We can find homes, and good homes, for all the children that we have. The institution is organized on the plan of the State Public School of Michigan.

Mr. BIRTWELL.—Will the gentleman tell us about their methods of investigation and supervision of children placed-out? I wish we might learn how people in different parts of the country throw safeguards around their work.

Mr. SNYDER.—Our agent goes to a home whence an application comes, and uses his own judgment. He engages in a conversation with the man and woman of the household, finds out, so far as he can judge, what the life there is. He does not rest there. He goes out and visits the neighbors; spends as much time as is required, maybe half a day or a longer or shorter period. Then he makes his report to the superintendent of the institution. If the report is favorable, the man of the house is permitted to come and select a child from all the children we have there. Generally he does not do that; he simply communicates a desire to have the child taken to his home; that is done. We then send the agent, or if it is a little girl, perhaps the wife of the superintendent. She is acting in the capacity of what we call the female agent now. The child is taken to the home and left there. The reason that we are going to need more help is that we have already in the last two years placed three hundred and fifty children. You can see that the time of one agent is not sufficient to admit of visits to all these children, and at the same time investigation of other homes whence applications come. It is going to be necessary to have a good deal more help in that way; I think very soon we shall have two others.

Miss ELIZABETH C. PUTNAM, of Massachusetts.—The possibility of having capable and educated women as volunteer visitors seems to be ignored. In Massachusetts we have the State Board of Lunacy

and Charity, which appoints individual women to investigate homes and to visit certain children. In Australia they send the government inspectors around, and they also have volunteer visitors, and from the reports I think their volunteers work with less energy. Massachusetts holds the voluntary visitor responsible for the girls that are assigned her. If she doesn't report, she is called to order and is not reappointed the next year. From the State Industrial School at Lancaster (a reform school for girls), and from the State Primary School, girls pass into families under the supervision of the volunteer visitors, and these visitors are very carefully chosen. We go first to somebody, if possible a physician; if not, to some business man who knows what is what, and we ask him to tell us the most capable woman he knows who loves children, and then we try to secure her, and she is appointed every year. The girls are in charge until they are twenty-one years old.

Mrs. WILLIAM P. LYNDE, of Milwaukee.—I have been engaged in this work since 1849, assisting in the establishment of the first orphans' asylum in the state of Wisconsin, and for the last fourteen years have been connected with the Milwaukee Industrial School for Girls. The Orphan Asylum has put out many children. Persons who make application for children must send references from the best classes in the town in which they live. Perhaps the judge or magistrate who commits the girl gives us information or reference. We send only on close and careful investigation of the character of the people. The same method is followed in the Industrial School. One severe winter, when the children were begging on the streets, we formed a voluntary association to take them into homes. Afterwards this association and its work were incorporated by the state as the Industrial School. We have no paid visitors. Mr. Snyder has said the state has a paid officer; this officer has sometimes helped us. Our chairman, without any payment, has visited ninety of the children placed-out.

Mr. GEORGE D. HOLT, secretary of Associated Charities of Minneapolis.—I am intensely interested in placing-out children. I am at work in the slums of Minneapolis, and I want to say a good word for the State Public School of Minnesota. In five years I have sent Mr. Merrill, the superintendent, some two hundred and twenty children from Minneapolis, and I can see that good work is being done by that institution. The paper of Mr. Homer Folks is admirable, and if a state has no state institution, I think that the plan he advocates is a model system; but with a state school established, like our own, at a cost of \$250,000, the charitable people of the state should foster it and not encourage private charities, which are more or less antagonistic and have contrary methods; they should not then pull down an excellent institution, but rather foster and assist it.

The CHAIRMAN.—We want one crisp speech from Mr. WHEELER of Massachusetts.

Mr. WALTER A. WHEELER, superintendent of the Massachusetts State Primary School.—I did not expect to be called upon, but will say that in the brief time I have been in charge of the State Primary School in Massachusetts, we have reduced our number over forty per cent. I do not attribute this so much to my own efforts as to the admirable system of visitors and agents for placing-out children, who have worked together most heartily with me in this direction. The most promising children to place-out are the youngest; there is no doubt about that. We have hopes for them. If they do not find a good home the first time, they will the second time. I was greatly pleased to hear the sentiments expressed about replacing children. There is a place for every child. A child needs more than food and raiment and shelter. It needs the love of some good man and woman. I love the children with my whole heart. I almost hug them every night when they go to bed, and I cannot love them enough. I want to love every individual child, and I am greatly in sympathy with every movement to put every child into a home.

A MEMBER.—I should like to know the average time spent by a child in the institution before it is placed-out.

Mr. WHEELER.—I cannot tell you. I think it is impossible to tell. Sometimes the child will go out in seven days; sometimes it will go out the next day after it comes in. Sometimes it will stay in the institution a year. It depends on the child altogether. There is no rule.

Mr. BIRTWELL.—Mr. Wheeler states that there is a home for every child. Now if we wanted our dinner and it were stated that there were enough dinners to go round, we should not think that the statement held good exactly if we had to wait a year for the dinner. I want to know if Mr. Wheeler thinks that children can be placed in good homes without undesirable delay, unless we have recourse to payment for board.

Mr. WHEELER.—I should answer this question of Mr. Birtwell in this way: There is not a free home for every child at once, and up to a certain age board should be paid, as it is paid in Massachusetts. Applications to board children are on file in the office. We have children, also, that we cannot place-out. They are defective children, cripples and those not mentally right. The really feeble-minded children, however, we transfer to the School for the Feeble-minded at Waltham.

Mr. SNYDER, of Wisconsin.—I would like to suggest a problem of institutional life. When you have a state institution, it is a consequence of the system that the children who are committed there are wards of the state. Being wards of the state, their parents very often desire to get them back, and make application for them. The homes of the parents have to be investigated under our system. It is sometimes very hard, and yet it is often necessary to decline these requests of the parents, for the reason that the home is not eligible.

There is another problem of importance. In institutions where the applicants come and take their choice, there is a residuum of poor children. All the children are not average children, because they come from people of a low vitality and scale of living, people who are below the average. Now what shall we do with them? We can keep them only until they are sixteen years of age. We then have to send them back to the county, and what the county does with them I do not know.

The CHAIRMAN.—Can any one throw light on this subject?

Mr. FOLKS.—I want to ask Mr. Wheeler if he does not find that he can dispose of this "melancholy residuum" by boarding them in families, and that by thus boarding them out in private homes they soon cease to be abnormal and deficient?

Mr. WHEELER.—Unfortunately in Massachusetts we cannot board children from the State Primary School over ten years of age. This is not a law, it is merely one of the present regulations.

A MEMBER from Iowa.—I took two children from one of our county poorhouses in Iowa in which there were three generations of the family; and the father had run away from a reform school. They were of course wretched in every way. The county supervisors said that they could do nothing at all for them. I kept the little girl but a short time, and then gave her to a lady in Michigan, who took her with the understanding that she could send her back. I learned recently that she still has the child and is devotedly attached to her. When I took that child I was really in doubt about her mental status. But she improved in a few days and seemed as bright as ordinary children. The other child is now in the home of a German Methodist family in Iowa. That child also is adopted, and neither of these children has had to be replaced.

Mrs. ISABELLA BEECHER HOOKER, of Connecticut.—Our system is this: We secured a legislative act establishing temporary homes, or county homes as they are generally called, in every county in the state. Moreover, women are appointed who, without compensation, inspect these county homes, and also see that no baby is in the poorhouse of their town. The plan works admirably. There is not a poorhouse now in Connecticut that has a baby in it, whereas formerly the poorhouses were filled with them and the children grew up to be paupers and worse. These temporary, or county homes, now keep the children until they can be put out in families. This has been accomplished by placing two women on our State Board of Charities.

The CHAIRMAN.—The Rev. M. DUPUY, of France, will now give us some idea of the work in that country.

Rev. E. J. DUPUY, of Paris, France.—The question of institutions or homes has been agitated very seriously in France for several years. The state in France has done a great deal and spent a great deal of money, and I must say its work has been a complete failure. Private charity has been at work for several years and has

proved already to be a success. The state had institutions and homes, and both were a failure because the inspectors who were paid by the government were most of them unfaithful to their duties. Whereas in the private societies most of the inspectors or agents are voluntary and engage in the work because they feel that something must be done for the children.

I investigated the matter myself, and soon found that families who make application for children, provided they are out of debt and the parents do not drink and have not been in prison, are allowed to take children; but concerning the moral character of these families no investigation is made. There is the great danger. Institutions are a good thing, I think, and homes are also a good thing, and if we could combine institutions with homes it would be the best solution. There is a lady who acts as inspector in central and western France. I think they pay only her railroad fares, and she gives a great deal of money to the work. The school-teacher knows more about the families than any one else, as he knows them through the children, and the school-teacher chooses the families, and afterwards we choose children whose character seems to be in conformity with the character of the families. This lady visits them regularly, and she has a regular correspondence with a committee in Paris. Thus the children are looked after until they are twelve, thirteen, fourteen or fifteen. This proves very good, but if a society could start a sort of industrial school, not a state school, but a private independent school, then we should have the solution of the problem.

I think that as a rule a state cannot do effective work in a moral line. I think the state can provide food and good dormitories, but nothing in a moral line. In France a single department has placed twelve thousand children. A department is but a portion of the whole state, in some instances only a sixtieth or seventieth. Imagine these twelve thousand children picked up in Paris, and merely ten or twelve francs a month each provided for their care. What good can come out of that system? I have seen places where the people having charge of these children would shut up the babies in a room and go out to work in the field for the whole day, leaving the children without any food, and I have seen them take children seven and eight years old and make them work hard, and never send them to school. And where was the inspector? He was in the neighboring city, perhaps, because it was raining or the sun was too hot! The lady I spoke of goes to work earnestly because she has a sense of responsibility, and feels that she belongs to the country and that its welfare depends upon her personal efforts.

In France we have reformatory schools. They are not to be compared with yours. We send young children to them to stay until they are twenty-one, and when they come out they are the most dangerous people we have in our country, and there is only one thing we can do with them,—enlist them in the army and send them to Africa.

Children need love. I have seen children not in bad families, but in families that had some position, who turned wrong and went to ruin because there was not love in the home. If you can give children love, then it is all right. Bad children need most love and affection. I know an Algerian boy who was a very bad boy, and ran away and was put in jail twice, but who, when he was placed on a little farm under the care of a good man, and was warmed up, changed completely. When he went there first he did not look in the face of his master with open eyes; but now after three months he looks openly, and he shows that he loves his master. Later on, when children are grown up, it is too late. If we can take them when they are young it is good. Even if they are ten and twelve years old, we can fight against the evil and even blot it out entirely. In France I have seen illustrations of this in children who have inherited bad qualities from their parents. They must be taken away from such parents and never be given back. When once the children have been taken away by the state, French parents have no more power over them; the parents cannot see them any more. And I think that is necessary.

We want to work for the children because they are the hope, the strength of a nation; and in France the thousands of children that are sent out by the public agencies would be better if they were put into the hands of private independent charity. The state must help private charity in the courts by supplies, and by money, and by giving it every facility. But there must be no fight, no struggle between the two. Again, if you congregate children in institutions, some of them will become worse than they were in the beginning.

A MEMBER.—I would like to ask whether you have the family system, or put dependent children in large institutions?

M. DUPUY.—Both. I prefer putting one child in one home.

A MEMBER.—Have you cottages in your public institutions?

M. DUPUY.—No, we have not that system yet. We have the congregate system, and the other plan of putting one child in a family. There is now in Paris, in a suburban part of the city, a small family who have a home for little children which has just been opened by one of our French Protestant ladies. They take only about ten or twelve children.

A MEMBER.—I would like to ask the speaker to state the reasons why he maintains that the state plan fails in the moral education of the child.

M. DUPUY.—There is only one word to say. It will explain everything. It is forbidden in state institutions to speak of God. I can relate one case to illustrate. A good man, a teacher in one of our schools, a good Christian, was asked to become the director of one of the largest congregate institutions of Paris under one condition, that he should never speak of God to the children. He accepted, but he spoke to them of their Heavenly Father, and they accepted that.

A MEMBER.—In America our laws encourage the teaching of what is called general morality. But still we have complete separation of church and state. I want to know if in your opinion the state could do any better work in the direction of moral development than it does.

M. DUPUY.—I do not think so. The state cannot conveniently work in moral or religious lines in these state institutions. They might bring the children up in the denomination of the parents, but a difficulty would then arise in regard to children who have no parents. The state teaches civic morals. You must serve your country. You must be ready to go into military service, if you are a man, and you must pay your taxes and so on. But there should be something more in the training of dependent children. At least the name of God should be pronounced. The director I mentioned found it the best check-rein he could use with those boys from seven to sixteen years of age.

Mr. BIRTWELL.—I want to ask M. Dupuy if they are cursed with the spoils system in France,—whether the politicians have anything to do with the distribution of the offices.

M. DUPUY.—We do not have it every *four years*. When a man is once in a place you cannot get him out. Though the radicals have been working for the disestablishment of religion and church in France, there are still in high positions in the Government religious men of both denominations, Protestant and Catholic, who are held in high honor and esteem by the Government authorities. They are agreed also in Paris upon having non-salaried inspectors. They think it better to have volunteer workers.

JAMES W. WALK, M. D., of the Department of Charities and Correction, Philadelphia.—I think in justice it ought to be said to our friend from France that the spoils system is not universal in America. There is one state at least in which the charity officials are not changed with the political administration. In Pennsylvania the officers of charitable institutions are not changed for any political reason. We have men in office now who have been there for thirty years. It is not just to America to give the impression that the miserable spoils system is universal.

THIRD SECTION MEETING.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 14, 1893, 2 P. M.

Topic: WAYWARD CHILDREN.

Mrs. ANNA GARLIN SPENCER, presiding.

The CHAIRMAN.—To-day we come to that very important part of our programme—Wayward Children. Some one said in yesterday's discussion that most of the children who are classed as dependent, neglected and abandoned might be also classed as wayward. I think perhaps that is a little stronger statement than the speaker would have stoogd to had it been challenged, but certainly there is a large minority at least of wayward children among those who come under state and social care. We will open this part of our subject with the paper of Miss ELIZABETH C. PUTNAM, Trustee of the Massachusetts State Primary and Reform Schools.

Miss PUTNAM then read the following paper:

THE VALUE OF DISCRIMINATION IN DEALING WITH JUVENILE OFFENDERS.

ELIZABETH C. PUTNAM.

Two principles are recognized by common consent:

1. The necessity of laws and penalties for the protection of society.
2. The necessity for some modification of laws and penalties when the lawbreaker is not an adult, but a minor.

A vast difference is, however, found to exist as to the practical application of these principles.

The purpose of this paper is to consider in detail:

- A. The conditions which make it easy for the young to offend against law and order.
- B. The methods of treatment by which, having offended, boys and girls may be most thoroughly reformed.

A.

Among the conditions which make it easy for the young to offend against law and order stands too often the fundamental condition, for which the child is certainly not responsible, the fact that he is ill-born or ill-bred.

Society must surely be held responsible for unwise immigration laws, for prevalent customs which allow the imbecile and the wicked opportunity for unrestricted self-indulgence,* for bad examples set before the young, and for imperfect sanitary conditions; but these considerations are too vast for discussion here. It is enough to say that society is to a great extent responsible for the presence in its midst of persons unfit to bring up children, and, pending more fundamental reforms, is at least bound to meet the needs of the ill-born and ill-bred as best it may.

The next and a very important claim to special consideration rests upon the fact that many of the traits which the child may have inherited develop for the first time during the crises in his physical and moral life, impelling him to new activity and too often to conduct unexpected, unaccountable, varying from the well recognized "pyromania," *i. e.*, a mania for setting fires, which has been found to be less common among boys than among girls of from 10 to 14 years of age, to the simple restlessness that makes any strange or dangerous enterprise more attractive than his own humdrum existence.

Again, his attitude toward the world about him—his standpoint—differs from that of the adult. The law-abiding, order-loving citizen justly objects to having his windows broken by stray balls, his shed used to harbor young tramps, or even the benches on the Common used as sleeping berths on summer nights. To be sure, his own boys occasionally try experiments in mischief-making, but they have fewer temptations to do so, because they are provided with caretakers, who will give them summer outings and safe Saturday afternoon amusements in winter. Perhaps it is better for the penniless boy to know that, should his ball break a window, nobody will be at hand to indemnify the property-owner, and that, if arrested, he will probably be "sent away" for non-payment of fine; he observes, however, that for similar offenses the son of a well-established citizen generally escapes punishment, and the sense of unfair treatment cannot fail to embitter his lot for the time.

We must also recognize the fact that a vast amount of hustling and scrambling is needed to get on in the world, and while on the whole the human race may be the gainer, there is a suggestion worth considering in the frank answer of a rather dull boy who, when

*See "Report of the Special Committee appointed by the Mayor to inspect the Public Institutions of Boston," pages 32-39, City Document 122 of 1892.

asked, "Why do you persist in stealing? Why not earn what you need?" answered, "It takes too long."

The young offender, whether ill-born or well-born, is immature and subject to change and development. But is he to be relieved of all responsibility for his misconduct because he is immature? By no means. Dr. E. C. Wines, in his admirable chapter on reformatory institutions,* makes it plain that reformatory treatment is provided for the young, not upon the supposition that they are without knowledge of the difference between right and wrong, but, on the contrary, because every normal child is presumably capable of distinguishing good from evil if his faculties can be developed in the right direction; the abnormal child also is capable of making this distinction to some extent, unless he is an idiot or a monster.

B.

We have now to consider the methods of treatment by which the young offender may be most thoroughly reformed and brought to look upon duty from the standpoint of the law-abiding citizen.

Dr. Wines approves such modification of the laws as will provide that young offenders "may be acquitted as having acted without knowledge, and [may be] placed under the care of government during a term fixed by law." Under this head he mentions primarily industrial and reformatory schools, and under this head should be classed the "indeterminate sentence."

It matters little whether a child is, as in England, acquitted, *i. e.*, declared "not convicted," and placed on a sort of probation in an industrial school; or, as in Massachusetts, if found guilty, convicted of the offense, but excused from the full penalty assigned in case of an adult offender, and placed in the custody of the State Board of Lunacy and Charity, to be committed to a reform school only in case he later proves unmanageable.† In either case the important element of elasticity is introduced into the original provisions of the law committing the young person to the state's custody, and opportunity is thus given for adaptation of the reformatory treatment to

*Pages 679-782 of "*The State of Prisons and Child-Saving Institutions in the Civilized World*," by E. C. Wines, LL. D., published by Messrs. John Wilson & Son, University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

† See English Reform and Industrial School Acts, 29-30 Vict., Chap. 118, Sec. 15; and Public Statutes of Massachusetts, Chap. 89, amended by Acts of 1883, Chap. 110.

the demands of his nature under the varying conditions of growth and development, *i. e.*, for the exercise of a wise discrimination from the outset until the completion of the minority.

The question next to be considered is when, where and by whom shall these principles be applied.

The magistrate is charged with the duty of deciding as to the guilt or innocence of the child brought, perhaps for the first time, before the bar, and he cannot, while on the bench, enter into the interesting question of the social conditions that may have brought into the community persons unfit to bring up children, nor can he modify his judgment in view of the inheritance of evil with which the child may be trammelled. He must make such disposition of the case as he believes to be just to the community as well as to the child. His action is limited on the one hand by existing laws, on the other by the practical appliances which the government has furnished for carrying into effect the special provisions for the custody and care of minors. The Legislature of Massachusetts, in 1869, made compulsory the attendance by an officer of the State Visiting Agency at all trials of juvenile offenders, and provided for the custody and supervision of the child by the Visiting Agency "in institutions without walls," if such provision should suffice.

The work of a state agent is well described in Col. Gardiner Tufts' first report submitted to the Legislature in October, 1870. From this report the following extracts are compiled, and describe the original intention of the laws creating the Visiting Agency. The variations as incorporated in the existing laws are inserted in brackets in order to avoid confusion.

"The policy of the state agent is not, in all cases, to secure an acquittal of the child, but to bring about, so far as is in his power, what is best for the child. The judge may punish by the ordinary methods of fine or imprisonment in jail, house of correction or the state prison, if the child be over [twelve] years of age. He may commit a boy over seven and [under fifteen] to the State Reform [Lyman] School for Boys; or a girl up to seventeen to the State Industrial School; he may put on probation or 'upon request of said agent may authorize the [State Board] to indenture or place such child in charge of any person, or in the State Primary School.' If the boy or girl is bad, and repeated trials of other methods have failed, he or she is sent where institutional restraint accompanies reforming opportunities. If the child has become obnoxious to the law by force of outward circumstances, and does not need intermediate discipline, the agent offers him, through the judge, a home

upon a farm, or a place in a workshop in a country town where the influences are helpful. If the child is a little waif, obnoxious because not old enough to know in his ignorance the difference between right and wrong, we open to him the door of the State Primary School, where he is reckoned neither a pauper nor a criminal. If the offense appears exceptional to his general good conduct, and his appearance and surroundings are such as to give promise of future correct behavior, the child is put on probation, and becomes one of the wards of the state, over whom we exercise such guardianship as we may. If there is hope, without strong promise, that the offender may do well, he is formally and legally committed to the custody of the State Visiting Agency [now to the State Board of Lunacy and Charity], and under its control, independent of the parents except as the State Board permits; but he may be allowed to return to his parents to remain with them so long as he does well; and he is then still a subject for visitation."

The state agent may thus be of great assistance to the magistrate, who is thus enabled to make a very different disposition of the case of a young culprit who, for want of a chance for legitimate exercise of his faculties, has made himself a "little nuisance," from that he would make in case of a vicious child who seems for the time to be bereft of moral sense, a dangerous associate for decent children. The "little nuisance" may be put on probation while the case is continued; or may, upon the request of the state agent, be committed to the custody of the State Board, with the proviso, that if he later prove unmanageable, he may be transferred to a reform school without further action by the court. The more vicious boy or girl may be committed directly to the State or City Reform School, with the proviso that if it be to the State School, transfer may be made by the Commissioners of Prisons, at the request of the trustees, to one or the other of the reformatory prisons.

It is a matter of record that children who have committed even petty thefts or other childish mischief have, simply by removal from the scene of their temptations into some family where stealing is not the custom, become honest and reliable. It is also well known that there are vicious children who for a time seem lacking in the capacity for decent conduct, who should by no means be placed in any private family, but kept in an institution under close observation and restraint. The distinction between the two classes is that which the state agent should keep in mind when, between the notice of the arrest and the time of trial, he makes himself acquainted with the child and its surroundings, in order to intelligently assist the magistrate in making the discrimination so much to be desired.

There can be no question as to the working value of attendance at court by an authorized state agent ; no question that many children who would otherwise have been committed to institutions have, through the system which prevails in Massachusetts, in Michigan and elsewhere, been placed on probation either with decent relatives or in other families where, being treated like children who have never been under arrest, the child conducts himself after the fashion of the place and soon recovers his self-respect.

An Instance showing the Working of the Massachusetts System of Direct Probation under the Custody of the State Board.

Margaret G., half-orphan, had been by her friends again and again placed in families with no good result. She had been accused of stealing, but of no more degrading vices, and therefore, when convicted of stubbornness and disobedience to her father, was, upon the request of the state agent, committed not to an institution but to the custody of the State Board, and sent to the care of one of the Volunteer Women Visitors, to be placed at work in a family many miles away from her former home. At first she was homesick, and later lost several places through her insolence and indolence. Placed again and again by the same patient and persevering visitor, she improved, and after a year or two Margaret was reported by her employer "the best girl we have ever had in the house." Two years later she was well married, and all now promises well for her future. This is one of the many satisfactory cases that might be cited.

An Instance showing an Unnecessary Commitment to an Institution in the Absence of the State Agent.

A petition was brought by a worthy woman to the trustees for the release from the Lyman School of a boy who, the court having failed to serve proper notice upon the state agent, had in the absence of that officer been committed to that school. His mother's statement was substantially as follows:—

"My son Richard and some other boys wanted to build a tent, so they went and cut off two branches from Mr. Townsend's trees. I saw the branches coming, and next came an officer with a warrant for the arrest of the boys. Mr. Townsend's hired man had got out the warrant, but his employer told him to go to the court the next morning and tell the judge that he didn't want the boys sent away, but some one heard the chief of police say to the judge that it would be just as well to send off one of the boys to scare the rest. My boy had already been on probation for truancy. He doesn't like to go to school because he stammers and the boys tease him. He was always just crazy for pigeons, and used to make houses for them ; and one day, after the trouble about the trees, he went off and

stayed all the morning with a boy who kept pigeons, and the truant officer came after him, and then they sent him away to the Reform School."

A careful examination of the boy and of the court records shows the story to be in the main correct. The prescribed duty of the magistrate had been to adjourn the case and to notify the state agent (Ch. 89, Public Statutes, amended by Act of 1883, Ch. 110). The police had given Richard a hard name, but no more serious charge than those mentioned above was recorded against him, and if the state agent had been duly notified, and had had opportunity to examine into the case, Richard would in all probability, at the agent's request at the time of the trial, have been committed to the State Board's custody, and placed with his parents or in some other family on probation under supervision. He would have been so placed not because his boyish offenses of truancy, once breaking glass, and once cutting off branches, did not deserve punishment, but because at thirteen years of age he was, so far as then appeared, a boy innocent of crime, not vicious, but regarded by the police simply as "a little nuisance." His father, though not always temperate, had been industrious and his sisters were earning good pay. An occasional visit or other reminder from the Visiting Agent might have prevented his playing truant on the last mentioned occasion, and even if this had proved impossible, a little ingenuity might have supplied him with pets, or if necessary, might have secured him for a while a home on some farm where cows, pigs, chickens, and even pigeons were in plenty. After several months' observation of the boy, the superintendent of the Lyman School is convinced that commitment to that school was unnecessary. Richard should have been placed in his own or in some other private family rather than in an institution, not because the State School is not a good school; not because the boy did not deserve punishment; but because punishment by removal from daily intercourse with self-supporting members of society to a place of restraint where he, with other young lawbreakers, becomes dependent upon public charity for his maintenance, is a removal from normal to abnormal conditions which are likely to relax his sense of responsibility, so that this important part of education will have to be begun all over again. Heroic treatment is often necessary, but should be reserved for the more serious cases. The superior discipline and training that is too often justly claimed for institutions should by some means be secured for boys and girls in their homes and day schools. It would be a crying shame for any community to have to own that in reform schools alone children could be brought under good discipline, or receive fitting industrial equipment for a life of self-support.

The intention of the original promoters of the Massachusetts system above described was evidently modified as experience proved the difficulties in the way of placing directly in families or in the State Primary School children who had become demoralized by

reckless living before being arrested. This mistake was, however, at the request of the trustees, soon corrected. During the past ten years we find that 1083 children were committed to the custody of the State Board of Lunacy and Charity, to be "placed in charge of suitable persons," or "temporarily in the State Primary School." During the same ten years we find that only 31 boys who had been thus committed to the custody of the State Board were transferred, by vote of the State Board, from its custody to the Lyman School, and only 37 girls to the State Industrial School. From these figures we may form an approximate estimate as to the proportion of children transferred from the custody of the State Board as so thoroughly unmanageable as to require the restraint of a reform school. It should, however, be noted that the juvenile offenders temporarily placed by the State Board in the State Primary School were there under a mild restraint and often waited two years before being placed in private families.

It is often urged that the fact of having been arrested and convicted of some breach of the laws should thenceforward stamp the culprit as unworthy to associate with children who have not come under the hand of the law. It is hoped that the considerations in the preceding pages may serve to show that such is not the case; that proper discrimination will separate the more innocent child, whom we have designated as "the little nuisance," from the more vicious, whether or not the former has been found guilty of some offense against the law of the land.*

The importance of commitment during minority must not be forgotten. The transfer from the custody of the parents to the custody of the state is, as has been shown, not a decree for the punishment of the child, but a provision for securing for him such restraint and discipline as his home has failed to provide. The commitment to the custody of the reform school or of the State Board should therefore be for minority, with the proviso that the return of the child to his parents shall be at the discretion of those to whom the custody of the child has been entrusted. One of the most cogent objections to committing children to the state's custody *for a short term* is that this would be an expedient for assisting the incapable parent, in a manner to him quite too attractive, without

* A girl, convicted of simple larceny, but innocent of more degrading vices, may be placed on probation, but *girls with low and vicious tendencies should never be placed in any other than a reform school, and never in the same reform school with boys.*

securing such continuation of care and discipline as so often proves to be essential to the reform of a mismanaged or at least undeveloped boy or girl.*

The preparation of this paper was here interrupted by a visit from a petitioner, a well dressed woman, who came to ask for the return of her boy from the Lyman School. From her story I gathered the following facts which well illustrate the points above mentioned :—

The circus was coming. The gay advertisements enlivened the fences in all parts of the city and all the world was going,—why not Tom? A neighbor's cousin kept a candy shop with its window (invitingly) open one summer evening. "The boys climbed in to get some money from the drawer to buy tickets, and my boy was caught; but I am told he is a good boy now, and we want to get him home again." Such was in substance the statement of the mother, whose thoroughly respectable appearance led us to wonder why, with her husband regularly at work, it had been impossible for her to control her boy, then 13 years of age, to take him to the circus, or otherwise keep him within bounds.

* In France, the father who has grave complaints against the conduct of his child, may, under certain conditions, have said child arrested, and if under 16 years of age, detained, not exceeding one month; if over 16, for not less than six months. There is no judicial action in either case, except as to the warrant for arrest. The father must pay all expenses and furnish suitable food. The term may be abridged at the father's request. A boy, if in Paris, is kept by himself in a cell; a girl is sent to Nanterre. If the child lives in one of the provinces, he undergoes his punishment in the district prison, where he is liable to be brought into contact with beings far more depraved than he is. (*"Enfants en Prison,"* page 249, I Code Civile, 375. Published by E. Plon, Nourit Cie, 10 Rue Garancière, Paris, France.)

M. Guy Tomel and M. Henri Rollet, the latter being charged with the duty of attendance at all trials of juvenile offenders at the Cour de Paris, published in 1892 this most interesting volume. Part I is devoted to the causes of juvenile crime or misdemeanor. In Part II are considered the responsibility of criminal children, some curious provisions for "Paternal Correction," mentioned above, and other methods of discipline for juvenile offenders, and finally public and private preventive work in their behalf. The editors reserve all rights of translation and reproduction of this book, which is in the main a work of rare practical value.

MM. Tomel and Rollet would not recommend imprisonment between bolts and bars or in any other close institution for the "vagabond by temperament." They suggest that if the native Arab were to be locked up for being what in France and elsewhere is designated as a vagabond, there could not be found in Algeria stones enough to build the prisons. They would transport the little "street arab," who has no home and wants none, to some part of the world where he would become a sailor, a scout—perhaps, in this country, a cow-boy.

But if Tom's parents could not or would not keep their boy from becoming a thief, it was better for the community as well as for Tom that the law should step in; better that he should be arrested and taken away from association with a gang of young thieves at large, to the restraint and discipline of a reform school.

SUGGESTIONS AS TO THE BEST USE OF THE PERIOD OF DETENTION.

The various methods for reforming young offenders within an institution cannot be dwelt upon here. Discrimination should again be exercised in so classifying the pupils as to reduce the chances of evil communication and to encourage all that is good.

While luxuries such as are not likely to accompany a life of self-support outside the institution should be carefully excluded from the reform school, the sanitary conditions should be of the best.*

The training of body and mind should be directed by intelligent and well-paid officers.

Boys and girls should be trained for such work and accustomed to endure such hardships as they will be likely to meet with when they enter upon a life of self-support, and the chief reason for avoiding, especially in reform schools for girls, the luxuries generally called "labor-saving conveniences" in the way of set tubs and washing machines run by steam, is that nothing of the kind is to be found in the average farm-house, where the work of girls placed-out from reform schools is most in demand, and where social privileges can best be allowed them. It is not in human nature readily to accept less con-

* We cannot recommend the use by a reform school of buildings intended for occupation by a farmer's family, for when occupied by a family of boys and officers, *i. e.*, by 30 or more persons, the sanitary conditions are unequal to the requirements. The cost of necessary sanitary improvements in these old buildings is great, and the same amount of money may better be applied to the erection of new buildings.

The occasional application of wax or parafine dissolved in turpentine and frequent dry polishing of the floors is healthful exercise for both boys and girls, and this method makes the removal of dirt possible, while the ordinary washing and scrubbing with soap and water, especially of institutions that have been used for the sick poor (as was the case with the buildings of the State Primary School at Monson, and the St. Pancras Hospital near London), has been found to be an unquestionable cause of diseases of the eyes and a less evident, but probably equally sure soil for the harborage of the germs of other diseases.

venient apparatus than we are daily accustomed to find at hand, but few persons find difficulty in adapting themselves to greater luxury if it falls to their lot.

In the State Industrial School for Girls, at Lancaster, there is no steam heat. The girls make and tend the stove and furnace fires, upholster furniture, paint floors, walls and woodwork, set glass, hang window sashes, besides attending to the usual branches of housework, cooking and sewing, and having few luxuries that cannot be obtained by a thrifty housewife in any farmer's home.

Meantime the period of detention in the reform school should, as has been suggested above, be made a fruitful period in the life of the boy or girl. Besides taking part in all branches of house and farm work, boys should be taught elementary manual training so simple that all can take part, so interesting to them as to compel a respect for skilled labor.

The following extracts from a paper prepared by Theodore F. Chapin, Superintendent of the Lyman School for Boys, at Westborough, Mass., and read at a sectional meeting of the National Conference of Charities at Denver, Colorado, June 27, 1892, are presented as to the point. Mr. Chapin said :—

"Assuming that the three chief deformities to be remedied by reform school training are untruthfulness, disregard of the property rights of others, and an ingrained enmity to orderly and systematic physical effort, or, in homely phrase, lying, theft and laziness, it is pertinent to inquire what remedial training an industrial occupation can furnish? what are its excellences and what its defects? By an industrial occupation is meant an employment such as basket-weaving, brush-making, knitting, tailoring, or any other employment in which production is a leading object. By manual training is meant a system of physical exertion which imparts to the hand the power of embodying ideas in material form; which calls forth the faculty of observation, and through an attempt to give concrete expression to the observation, reveals to the pupil what it has actually seen. It is an attempt to train the mind through the body. Manual training is not the teaching of trades, nor does it necessarily lead up to a trade. Boys who have had the benefit of a good course of manual training will undoubtedly make more desirable and successful apprentices. These are important but purely incidental results of a curriculum which is a necessary and important part of a well-balanced and complete educational system. The real manual training exercise, be it modeling, drawing, or executing with tools, cannot (like drawing the bristles into a brush, pegging a shoe, or feeding the knitting machine) become mechanical. It cannot be produced without mental effort;

it demands and enforces alertness of mind. With eyes open, mind interested, and the mental concept impelling to embody in a physical form which the hand is skilled to produce, how can a better foundation for industrial habit be begun? Boys are often called lazy where the one thing needed to make them active is interest in the thing to be done. Let it be remembered, however, if it is to be an educational engine which is to draw forth a train of moral results, it must be in the hands of a real teacher, a teacher who thoroughly believes in the possibilities of the human mind even under the uncouth exterior of a restive reform-school boy, a teacher who is possessed of infinite patience, who is willing to sow beside all waters, letting no opportunity slip to make the mistakes and the failures of a boy in his work preach lessons of righteousness; in a word, a teacher who has a soul, a living soul, and who is willing to place that soul beside the dead spirit of the boy that it may live again."

PLACING-OUT AND SUPERVISION DURING PROBATION.

The letting-go of the boys and girls when they leave the institutions is, we all agree, of the first importance. We have called attention to the importance of commitment during minority. The hold thus established upon the probationer and the authority to recall him to the school serves to promote rather than to hinder an early placing-out.

Discrimination as to the time for trying this experiment as to the choice of places and as to the amount of supervision becomes a matter of vital importance. There is, however, great diversity in theory, and still more in practice, and whereas we find that some child-helping societies rely solely upon written reports from the boy or his employer, others upon the visits or other observation of the parish priest or minister. In some cases all the visiting is effected directly from the schools; in others, by agents who rotate through the state and outside, and are not obliged by law to visit more than once per year, although more frequent visits may often be made by them.

In Australia the services of volunteers working under a separate organization are accepted by the government and supplemented by visits made to the same children by state inspectors.

In Massachusetts there is, for the care of girls, an unusual combination of volunteer with salaried work; of women's work, invited, organized and directed by the State Board, the Legislature granting annually an appropriation for traveling expenses, which is paid out to the visitor upon presentation of an itemized bill, audited by the state auditor and approved by the Governor and Council.

There are over seventy such visitors, who are annually appointed by and directly responsible to the Board, and whose services are on that account more efficient and permanent than would be those of any independent organization over whom the state could have no direct control.

* The selection of the volunteer women visitors is made with great care, and their visiting is supplemented by that of salaried visitors only in case the volunteer visitor is for some reason off duty or in some other serious emergency, each volunteer being held responsible for the welfare of her wards.

Whatever may be the system, the necessity for discrimination in choosing places and in supervision is obvious. A boy or girl who for good cause has been for a year or two years under constant restraint and direction in an institution, cannot be expected at once to become a discreet and responsible member of society outside the school. He will have trials and discouragements. At first he will be "lonesome without the boys." Perhaps he will commit an offense and be afraid to own it, and look forward to a friendly visit to help him out. The time may come, whether in six months or three years, when the employer may have become such a fast and patient friend as the boy needs, but until this much-desired goal be reached, the visitor should stand to the boy as an experienced elder brother, observing and preventing the carrying out of some scheme for running away; changing the place, if necessary; insisting always upon the three essentials, honesty, industry and self-respect.

The CHAIRMAN.—Before I open the discussion on this subject, I shall call upon Mr. HOMER FOLKS to read the conclusion of his paper, of which he gave a part yesterday, on *Family Life for Dependent and Wayward Children*.

Mr. FOLKS then read the following paper:

FAMILY LIFE FOR DEPENDENT AND WAYWARD CHILDREN.

HOMER FOLKS.

PART II.*—FAMILY LIFE FOR WAYWARD CHILDREN.

In connection with the family plan for dependent children, the question has been raised, "How far can the family system be used

* For Part I see page 69.

in the care of delinquent children?" The asking of this question does not indicate a desire for any startling innovation nor the abandonment of existing institutions, for the family plan is already a part of nearly every reformatory agency. I do not refer to the cottage system, which is not and should not be called "the family plan," but to the fact that after a certain period of training the child is placed in a real family. The question is, how far can this feature of existing methods be developed? May not some of these children be placed in families sooner than is now done, and others be placed in families directly?

My experience indicates that most people connected with institutions for juvenile offenders do not take a very hopeful view of the placing-out part of their work and will probably not be inclined to favor its extension. The institution appears to them as a symbol of protection. After the child has been carefully and thoroughly trained, it is with some misgiving and a certain regret that they again entrust him to the hard, unsympathetic world. A striking proof of this lack of confidence in the family plan lies in the fact that in preference to placing among strangers, a large majority of these boys are returned to their own families, to the very surroundings which made them delinquent. I believe, however, that whatever lack of real success has attended the placing-out of juvenile offenders has been largely owing to the fact that placing-out has been regarded as only an incidental feature of the system—we may almost say, a necessary evil, and hence little of thought or means has been devoted to it. It should be no surprise to any one that placing-out by the methods in vogue fifty years ago meets to-day no marked success. Much is to be expected from the application of progressive methods to the placing-out of wayward children, both directly and after preliminary training.

It is a curious fact that there has been a strong tendency, even among experts, to regard child-caring work as a part of prison reform. The International Prison Congress of 1889 devoted much time to a study of the Michigan School for *Dependent* Children. Is it not remarkable that the title of Dr. E. C. Wines's epoch-making masterpiece should be "The State of *Prisons* and *Child-saving* Institutions throughout the Civilized World"?

In New York, and I presume the same is true in other states, the law which provides for sending an orphan child to an orphan asylum is a part of the penal code, and the application is passed upon by a police magistrate, who thereby becomes an officer of *injustice*. This

connection between child-saving work and prison reform may have been beneficial to the latter, but has had a certain ill effect upon the former. The whole child-problem has been tinged with the idea of crime, or at least of crime-prevention, so that all children coming into the charge of public authorities have been looked upon as, in a measure, subjects for reformation. Later, a conscious and powerful effort had to be made to separate the dependent from the delinquent class; to make it really clear in our minds that poor children are not necessarily bad children. In most states this line is now drawn with a fair degree of justice, although Census Bulletin No. 204 shows us that on June 1, 1890, there were in the reformatories of the United States 1978 children, or thirteen per cent. of the whole number, who had been deliberately placed there merely because of *destitution*. Is not this as short-sighted and as unjust as would have been the commitment of 1978 blind children, because of their blindness, to institutions for the feeble-minded?

In general, however, the distinction has been made, and the merely homeless child has been saved from the brand of crime. Can we go one step farther and go out of the branding business altogether? I wish we might, but I do not yet see the way. I wish I could believe that there were no criminal children, but I cannot. There are Jesse Pomeroyes, and if present conditions continue, there will be more of them; and because they are dangerous, society must seclude them; and any place to which boys are sent because they are bad, call it by whatever name you will, sooner or later puts its brand upon the child. Must we not all agree, however, that this course should be pursued only when absolutely necessary; that infinite pains should be taken not to brand the wrong boy? Discrimination should be the keynote—discrimination, not between classes of children, based upon the particular process or judicial machinery or provisions of law by which they come to us, but discrimination of individual children, based upon the whole course of their former lives.

In so far as the delinquent children have lived essentially the same life, under the same general surroundings, on the same street or in the same home, as the dependent children, the method which is best suited for the one is best suited for the other. Owing largely, no doubt, to what is aptly called "our administrative awkwardness," a large number, classed as delinquent, belong more properly with the dependent children. This applies with certainty to the thirteen per cent. who are committed for destitution, and there are many indica-

tions that the delinquent class is still more largely recruited from the ranks of the uncared-for. Delinquent children are supposed to be either those who have committed crime or those who are beyond the control of their parents; dependents, those who are homeless or orphans. Yet fifty per cent. of all the children committed to the reformatories of the United States in 1890 were orphans or half orphans—beyond the control of their parents, indeed. And any one who has had a general experience with the child-problem in cities knows that of the other half, whose parents are living, the incorrigibility is as often in the parents as in the child. When a child is not wanted, it is astonishing what a long and dreadful catalogue his misdeeds make, and the difference between even those who are actually convicted of petty crime and many of the older dependent children is simply the difference between the boy who eludes the police and the one who is captured. When a family of small children, whose home is with the submerged tenth, are left without direction and support because of the death or inefficiency or vice of parents, that family is sure to be broken up, and it is often the merest turning of a finger that decides whether the children are labeled dependent or delinquent. It very often happens that some go one way and some the other, for no apparent reason. If the boy happens to be in his home when the disabled wreck finally goes to pieces, he becomes dependent, but if he happens to be on the street, which may have been a better place for him, he is usually marked delinquent. These two streams flow from the same source, the lack of parental oversight. Rather is it one stream down which the delinquent child has been carried a little farther than his brother. Unless rescued, they both are soon hurried over the brink of the same Niagara.

We agree, then, that in the majority of cases the waywardness has been caused by the lack of normal home life; and that is a very large part of a child's life. Does it not seem most natural, then, to supply that element in the child's life which has been wanting, and whose absence has proven so disastrous? When the loss of the father has caused the boy to go astray, how shall we mend matters by depriving him of his mother also? Yet is not this just what we do with the half-orphans who formed forty per cent. of the total number committed in 1890?

We believe, then, that there are a few really criminal children who must be treated in seclusion in a moral hospital, but that the majority of juvenile offenders are essentially of the same class, have inherited

the same inheritance and lived the same lives as the dependent children, and hence should be provided for in the same manner.

At the present time two societies, the Children's Aid Societies of Boston and Pennsylvania, are experimenting to discover just how bad a boy can advantageously be placed directly in a family. The former society, as a result of its experiment, has closed one of its three farm training-schools, the one to which formerly the least difficult of the wayward boys were sent, and now places these children directly in families. The latter society receives from the courts and the magistrates of Philadelphia, children accused of incorrigibility, vagrancy or truancy, or convicted of actual crime, and places all such children directly in families. From my own experience as superintendent of that society from August 1890 until February of the present year (1893), I should draw the following conclusions:—

A suitable country home is the proper place for any juvenile offender who belongs to either of the three following divisions:—

1. Children under 13 years of age, except a very small number who show a lack of all moral sense and are evidently dangerous to the community. On the first of June, 1890, there were 3573 children, 12 years of age or under, in the reformatory institutions of the United States.

2. All those cases in which it is probable that the desire of the parents or relatives to be rid of the child is a factor in the accusation. Where this motive is present no testimony from the parents or relatives can be accepted.

3. All those first offenders in whose cases a careful, conscientious investigation points to the lack of parental oversight, or the absence of home life, as the probable cause of the alleged wrongdoing.

For these three classes of children the family home is advised, not necessarily as a finality, but as an opportunity by which the child *may* prove that no harsher means are necessary. It seems only just that we should give the child this opportunity to prove, if such be the case, that what we thought was his misconduct was only the reflection, through him, of the evil surroundings, the lonely neglect, the absence of opportunity in which we permitted, nay, *compelled* him to live, and that under normal and healthful surroundings he is simply an ordinary healthy boy. If it should be found, as sometimes it will be, that the process of criminal-making has gone so far that the product is beyond the converting power of the ordinary environment, then a commitment to an institution is a justified and an easy resort.

The placing-out of wayward children should be surrounded with all the safeguards in the investigation and selection of families which have been described in the earlier part of this paper, with an additional careful consideration of possible danger to other children. The after-supervision must also be more persistent and painstaking, the visits and correspondence more frequent. It will be advisable in nearly every case to pay the family a reasonable sum for the care and training of the child. His past life has not been such that he is now able to render services of value, while we are asking from the family a certain expert service in his behalf. There are families who will receive such children without payment, but experience soon shows that they are not the benevolent people we might suppose them to be. "Not alms, but a friend," is as good a motto in the country as in the city. When we take the wayward child by the hand and turn toward the country family, we must not ask them for free lodging, food and clothing. We must be ready to pay for these things, and make our appeal for loving, personal oversight, for patient, hopeful forbearance and training, and experience proves that there are thousands of good families, living in humble country homes, to whom such an appeal is not in vain.

The CHAIRMAN.—In looking over a number of reports of reform schools and kindred institutions in England where juvenile delinquents were cared for, I was struck with a very brief report from one institution which touched somewhat upon the matter which was in Miss Putnam's paper. The report was: "No Modern Improvements, no Laziness and no Disease." I don't know how firm the connection was in the minds of the people between the modern improvements and disease, but certainly the connection is clear to us all between modern improvements and some laziness. With Miss Putnam's full and able statement and the strong paper of Mr. Folks before us, we have the whole problem of the care of wayward children opened for our consideration.

I shall ask Gen. ROELIFF BRINKERHOFF, of Ohio, President of the National Prison Association, to open the discussion.

Gen. BRINKERHOFF.—I shall confine myself to our experience in dealing with the dependent and delinquent children of my own state of Ohio. Our purely public provision for the dependent children is what we call the county homes. They exist now in forty-four counties of our state, and there are one or two or three added every year, so that the probabilities are that in a few years we shall have a county home for dependent children in every county in the state. We bring the superintendents of these county homes together at our State Conferences of Charities and Correction. The county homes

are not permanent homes ; they are simply temporary shelters until real homes can be procured for the children in the country.

For the wayward children Ohio has established what is known as the family system, or the cottage system ; and in the state institution established on that plan, the Boys' Industrial School at Lancaster, we have some six hundred. No children are permitted to go there unless they are sent by a judge for some offense against the law. The state has another institution of a similar character for girls, called the Girls' Industrial Home, at Delaware.

The CHAIRMAN.—I will now call on Rev. JAMES H. NUTTING, religious instructor for institutions under the Board of State Charities and Corrections of Rhode Island.

Mr. NUTTING.—A reform school is not for punishment, but for reformation, precisely what it is called ; and the thought that it is for the punishment of crime should be removed from our minds as quickly as possible.

I have never seen a criminal child. There have been such. Doubtless that abnormal boy in Massachusetts, Jesse Pomeroy, was a criminal. But I have seen a great many children sentenced to institutions by courts for what would have been crimes if I had committed them, but were not crimes in the child because of his lack of moral development, not of moral incapacity.

I say that the boys and the girls who go to reform schools are not more vicious than those who are styled dependent. The boy who is called a delinquent ran on the street with the boy who is called a dependent ; they played together and performed the same acts ; they fought on the streets and stole apples off the corner-stands together. They did the same things, and the only difference is that one has been legally adjudicated a delinquent and the other has not. I was a boy not so long ago as to have forgotten the boys. I am very familiar with the boys in one reform school. They will average as well as the boys with whom I played in point of character. We did the same things as they and weren't tripped up. We had somebody to stand between us and the consequences, and they didn't. And the reform school has no right to punish them, but only to train them.

The reform school is a half-way house. With us the placing-out is not in disfavor. The fact is that in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred our school is but a start on the road to a home such as the child never had before. It ought to be so always ; too many boys go back to their own homes. Very few girls go back to their own homes. As to putting them two hundred miles away, how can you do it and supervise them ? I have very little faith in voluntary supervision. I have discovered that the thing which is paid for is quite as well done as if it is not paid for. The visitor must live in the immediate neighborhood of the child. You see the difficulty at once. I would have as visitor one who had been acquainted with the child previous to the child's leaving the school, and who had so

far become acquainted with the child as to become recognized by the child as a friend. My experience leads me thoroughly to the conviction that, when there is trouble, the people who have our children are quite as likely to be deserving of blame as the child.

Mr. GEORGE C. MADDOCK, of the State Industrial School for Girls, Trenton, New Jersey.—I have listened with interest to the papers. In respect to the family plan, in the little state of New Jersey, though we are between Massachusetts and New York and Philadelphia, we manage to hold our own in this department of good work. We put our girls out after they have gone through a training of from two to three or four years under the kindly care of teachers. We not only have great success in putting the girls out, but the people are anxious to get them; and not only that, but they are willing to pay for their services. We charge from \$1 a week to \$2.50 a week for our girls when we put them out, and we get it. The money is sent to us, and we put it in the savings-bank until the child is twenty-one years old, and very frequently the girls will have from \$100 to \$200 to begin life with. The difficulty we had some years ago was that the law gave us supervision of the children only until they were eighteen years of age. Under that rule dissipated parents, as soon as they found that the girl was coming to that age, would come and make a demand for the money that had been placed in the savings-bank, and we had to surrender the money. We went to the legislature and they extended the law to twenty-one years, so that the girl should have the money when she came of age, and not her father or mother.

In New Jersey it is by law the duty of the matron of the school to visit. It is the privilege of the lady managers to visit. So we have a constant supervision for our girls when we place them out, as we do almost always, in the country. Very rarely we put a girl out to service in the city. We remove the girl as far as possible from the temptations of the city. We put them out in country families, and they are taken care of, and in a period of 15 years about 85 per cent. of our girls have turned out well, are married, and are doing remarkably well. We have six men as trustees appointed by law, and six lady managers appointed by the trustees. Of course the trustees do not have the opportunity for, nor would it be well for them to make official visitations, but the lady managers and the matron do this very frequently and make reports.

But I would ask Miss Putnam one question in regard to the term of probation, whether that is under the control of the State Board of Lunacy and Charity, or under the control of the trustees of the schools.

Miss PUTNAM.—That is rather a complicated question. All children in Massachusetts placed-out from the state schools, if they were committed by the courts, remain under the control of those to whom they were committed; if they were committed to the trustees of the schools, they continue under the control of the trustees; if committed to the custody of the State Board of Lunacy and Charity, they

remain in the custody of that board until they are twenty-one. No child is allowed to be placed in any family until a report of the family has been made by the State Board. That board is not the same as the trustees. Girls placed from the State Industrial School for Girls at Lancaster are visited by our Auxiliary Visitors, women volunteers, who are appointed by the State Board, and whose work is supplemented by one salaried woman, the visitor-at-large. We have 147 girls from our State Industrial School out on probation, and the matron and the women on the board of trustees could hardly visit that number of girls. During the last year these girls have sent in \$1200 from their earnings. Our school is directly under the control of the state. The trustees are appointed by the Governor of the state.

General R. BRINKERHOFF.—I think there is one thing that ought to be done in regard to delinquent children—not to have any if you can help it. I believe that no child, except in very rare cases, should be sent to a reformatory for a first offense. I tried that theory on an audience of 2000 criminals, and I couldn't find one but would say that if the law had taken charge of him in time he would never have gone to a reformatory. In Ohio we don't call them reformatories, we call them the Boys' Industrial School at Lancaster, and the Girls' Industrial Home at Delaware. Our plan with the boys and girls is to teach them industrial work, to give them thorough training, and then as soon as possible to place them on parole in families, and in that way we succeed in caring for our delinquent children. But we have had one bad practice in the House of Refuge at Cincinnati. There the delinquent and the dependent have been permitted to go into the same institution, which ought never to be permitted. I think it is a sin against God and humanity to place any child in an institution and put the brand of criminality upon him for life, unless that child is absolutely convicted of an offense.

In Ohio we have six men and women constituting a Board of Visitors in every county, and no child can be sent to the reformatory until they are notified; and they must appear before the court; and when you get three good women and three good men in court, the child will not go to a reformatory except as a last resort.

HASTINGS H. HART, secretary of the State Board of Corrections and Charities of Minnesota.—There is not in my judgment any line of our work where there is so much room for improvement as in the treatment of children before putting them into reform schools. We must follow the lead of Massachusetts and Michigan in this matter. We have got to make entirely different provision in most of the states for the care of children after they are arrested. There was a suggestion in Miss Putnam's paper of the practice which prevails, I think, in most of the states, of allowing parents to go before the board of managers and plead for the discharge of the child because of some advantage to the parents. We should not send the child back to the same conditions from which he came to the institution.

The welfare of the child and society should be recognized, and the claims of the parent who has forfeited his right to his child must be disregarded if they come in conflict with the interests of the child or society. There are two diametrically opposed ideas that must be discussed. One is the idea that children should not be kept longer than is necessary in a reformatory, but should be put out as soon as possible in a suitable home. In this most of us agree. There is another idea, that the industrial system of our juvenile reformatories must be so improved as to give a child a training that will provide him with an honest means of earning his living outside. On the one hand it is said that we must keep him longer than twelve months if he is to go out and make his living; on the other hand, that if we keep him longer than twelve months it is not good for the child. My judgment is that each case must be considered individually. Any child who has learned a trade should be sent out just as soon as he has learned it. I believe in teaching a working trade, but that is possible for only a limited proportion of these children.

I cannot agree with my friend from Rhode Island in regard to discriminating between dependent and delinquent children. There is a difference. If you go into the Minnesota school for dependent children, the State Public School at Owatonna, and into our State Reform School at Red Wing, you will see that there is a great difference in the two schools.

The truth is that wherever we can avoid putting the stigma of which General Brinkerhoff has spoken on a child, we must. "A rose by any other name would smell as sweet." Just as soon as you call a school an "Industrial School," and send children to it because they have committed offenses against the law, you place a stigma upon them. The stigma is there, whatever you call it.

It is a very grave thing to put the criminal stigma upon a child. And when I visit the House of Refuge of the city of Cleveland and see children sentenced to an institution in which they attend the same chapel and associate together with the criminal men and women who are sent to the Workhouse, with which the House of Refuge is connected, I feel that there is a crime against nature.

I recognize the fact that there are children who are simply dependent and unfortunate, and those also who have criminal tendencies. They should not be cared for together. This subject of juvenile offenders should be studied more thoroughly.

Mr. MICHEL HEYMANN, of New Orleans, Louisiana.—We are not organized in the South. We have a good many ladies down there who are active in charities, but they are not organized. Mr. Hart has given me my text. How can you take away that stigma? In the very fine paper of Miss Putnam there is one question which I did not well understand: what are the organizations doing to prevent children from being committed? I believe that a great many children whom you call delinquent are not criminals. I had last year a child in my charge who was half-witted. He should not have

been in my care, but I kept him because I pitied him. The boy was thirteen years old, a very bad boy, so bad that I complained to my board every week. They said, "Put him in the House of Refuge." I said, "What is the House of Refuge?" I took my boy to the House of Refuge, and I said to the superintendent, "Let me see your place." He showed me through, and my boy looked at those delinquent boys and shook his head and said, "Mr. Heymann, I don't want to come here." And my boy was saved. I think ninety per cent. of the children can be saved in that way.

Mrs. SARAH B. COOPER, of San Francisco, California.—The kindergarten work of San Francisco had its birth right along these lines. A lot of boys had taken newspapers from a stand, and Charlie, being a little slower than the rest, was caught, and he was the one that ought not to have been caught. I determined to do what I could to keep the children out of temptation, and to help them to love the good rather than the bad, and give them the right sort of employment, and on that one incident the kindergarten work of San Francisco was founded.

We want to keep the children from going wrong. In the first place they have a right to be better born, so we ought to teach people something about the great laws of heredity. Then we must take the little ones and develop them in the kindergartens. The care and culture bestowed upon the root will show itself in the fruitage.

A MEMBER.—I want to say a word regarding the stigma. It seems to me that, judge as carefully as we may, we are liable to make mistakes. Shall those on whom the mistake falls be always branded? Shall they be always stigmatized because of the unfortunate condition of their early life? It seems to me that we need charity and a sense of justice to take away even from the industrial school or the reform school the stigma that is now permitted to rest upon them by Christian people.

Mr. BIRTWELL.—I want to give Mrs. Cooper another task. General Brinkerhoff referred to the Whittier School in California. Dr. Walter Lindley, whom I hoped we should see here, is at the head of the school. Last year at the National Conference of Charities and Correction the fact was brought out that both dependent and wayward children are sent to that institution from different parts of California. In regard to remedying this wrong Dr. Lindley said that the difficulty was with the people of California, that he did not think they would approve the expenditure necessary for their separation, but he acknowledged that he considered it the next step to take. In addition to supervising the kindergartens Mrs. Cooper, I hope, will come to the assistance of Dr. Lindley.

Mrs. COOPER.—Let me say that we are doing all in our power to accomplish the very thing to which Mr. Birtwell has made reference. It is a most important point and no one feels it more than Dr. Lindley. In the penitentiary, too, there are little boys put with

criminals and the warden is helpless to prevent it. But we are working with might and main to remedy these evils.

Captain LEVI T. FULTON, superintendent of the House of Refuge, Cincinnati, Ohio.—A stigma attaches to every child sent to a house of refuge or a reform school. Mr. Hart spoke of the names of such institutions. Our house at Rochester, where I formerly was, was called a House of Refuge, which is a beautiful name, but it had been considered a boy's prison so long that I wanted to have it changed in some way. I began by introducing trade-teaching. I worked at it seventeen years faithfully, and I succeeded. When we got trade-teaching well going, I thought the name should be "Industrial School," and I got it called by that name and I found that it pleased the mothers. Then they could say, when asked, "Where is Joseph?" "He's away to school," and not lie. Before this trade-teaching was inaugurated we were earning from \$15,000 to \$24,000 a year by letting the labor of our boys by contract. The mothers felt that the boys were slaves to the state, working for the state and not for themselves, which was in part true; and after we commenced the trade-teaching we earned nothing, not a dollar; we put everything into the boy. Carpentry and joining, blacksmithing, bricklaying and plastering, shoemaking and tailoring had been introduced when I left there, and we taught even little boys not more than thirteen or fourteen years old to become good mechanics. The impression is that boys cannot begin learning trades before they are sixteen years old. That is a mistake. We have boys at Cincinnati not over twelve years old learning to lay brick, and one of them can lay them just as handily as any man in the city of Chicago to-day. I would recommend every person here who has the care of wayward children, if he has not already introduced industrial training, to introduce it just as soon as he gets home; don't wait a minute. Put everything into the boy, not trying to get anything out of him; in this way you will make him a self-supporting, reliable citizen.

Mrs. CHARLOTTE C. HOLT, of Chicago, Illinois.—I represent the "Protective Agency for Women and Children," of Chicago. We aim to prevent children from being dealt with unjustly. We have for seven years been attending courts for the purpose, as far as our limited means and powers would permit, of saving children from unjust commitment for any offense or so-called offense. I remember one time being in the court-room when seven boys between the ages of nine and twelve years were under arrest for stealing. When they came before the bar of the magistrate their little chins did not come up to the railing. They said they had been stealing—had stolen a horse and wagon. "What were you going to do with the horse and wagon?" "Just have some fun." Well, those children had been locked up two or three days, and had it not been for the presence of our agent in the court-room they would have gone upon the list of criminals. I think there should be an association of this kind in

every city of importance. There is a society of men in this city representing the same kind of work. Our work has been established a little longer. We should like to feel that this Congress would lead to the formation of other societies of this kind throughout the Union.

WALTER A. WHEELER, superintendent of the State Primary School, Monson, Massachusetts.—I am a firm believer in the theory that there is not much difference between a neglected and a delinquent child, and I grow more and more of that opinion the more I see of the bad classes. Now in our State Primary School at Monson, Massachusetts, we keep a record of the history of every child, and I don't know, nor does one of my officers know, whether a child is neglected or delinquent unless we look over that book. We cannot tell it by their actions. If you should ask me to pick out our best boys I should pick out two eleven-year-old boys, both of whom have been before the court four or five times for stealing. They are the best boys in the institution. The other day I received a letter from a party in the western part of the state, "Don't send me any juvenile offender." I sent two boys. They were neglected, simply neglected. They hadn't been there three weeks before they set the man's barn on fire, and they were neglected children, and not delinquent. As regards the stigma on a child, I say there is no stigma on a good life and never will be.

Mr. BIRTWELL.—I want to call attention to the fact that the State Primary School, of which Mr. Wheeler is superintendent, is intended chiefly for dependent children, and receives from the class of juvenile offenders only the younger and milder cases,—children who have been guilty of offenses, but who, because of their tender years or mitigating circumstances, are treated as dependent children. Besides the State Primary School, Massachusetts has a reform school for wayward boys, called the Lyman School, at Westborough, and a reform school for wayward girls, called the Industrial School for Girls, at Lancaster. We must make the most discriminating judgment that we can respecting these children. The pity of it is that we cannot divide up the 300 or 500 children into 300 or 500 groups. That we must aim at. If we cannot discriminate, we must discriminate as well as we can.

On this matter of names I want to say a word. Several of the best words in the English language are being robbed of their meaning. That is not a "*family plan*" which means groups of twenty or thirty or fifty children under one roof. We misuse terms with the best of motives; we want to have everything seem as good as it can. But let us be truthful. Again, in institutions organized on the "*cottage plan*" we find that the "*cottages*" contain perhaps fifty boys. My notion as a boy of a "*cottage*" was something a good deal simpler than an institution with half a hundred boys in it.

We may gain something by calling a reform school an industrial school. But presently it puts a stigma upon boys and girls to be

sent to the industrial school. The best way I know of is to give a school the name of a person, as Massachusetts has done in calling her reform school for boys the Lyman School, in honor of the Honorable Theodore Lyman, at whose instance and by whose aid it was established. It was in June, 1884, that the old State Reform School at Westborough was thus happily rechristened the Lyman School for Boys.

General Brinkerhoff spoke of teaching trades. How shall we pass children on and yet give them trade-training? The solution I would suggest is this: That you choose very carefully which shall learn trades and which shall go to farms; that those who are to learn trades remain in the reform school long enough to learn them, and that the others be sent to farms as soon as they are prepared to be placed-out. Some day in the future we shall have trade schools outside of reform schools, to which boys may go daily from their homes.

Captain FULTON.—If a boy has done anything for which he should be committed to a reform school, he should stay there long enough to be cured of what he was sent there for; he should show by his conduct that he is fit to leave the school; and as much as possible should be done for him while there to fit him for being a good citizen. If he is adapted to learning a trade, put him at that trade.

Miss PUTNAM.—I was allowed to go into the building which will be used for the exhibit of Charities and Correction at the World's Fair, and I found the exhibits of two or three other reform schools as well as the Lyman School open but not installed. I was explaining the exhibit to a member of the party. A fine-looking young workman, a carpenter I think, was standing by. "Oh," said he, "is this what is taught in a *reformatory*?" and he said no more; and we all of us knew what he was thinking, that here boys were being taught what he would have been only too glad to be taught when he was a boy. Here was an honest workman who had not been taught what the boys in the reform school had been taught.

Rev. GEORGE K. HOOVER.—I agree with the friends who think we can save these children. If you will take the report of the reform schools of Iowa, the boys at Eldora, about 400, the girls at Mitchellville, about 225, and read the page that alludes to their social condition before being sent there, you will find it says so many "father dead," so many "mother dead," so many "both parents dead," etc.; and you will discover that about seven out of ten are in the reform school because their home was broken up. It has been urged that the children are to be sent to reform schools only after due deliberation by the courts. In one case I received a telegram when a boy was about to be sent to a reform school, and I sent an agent for the boy, and I sent the boy into a home in northern Iowa, and in a few weeks I got a report from his teacher in which his average was 94 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. We must distinguish between crime and misfortune; for nine-tenths of the children that get into court are simply unfortunate.

I went to Muscatine, where I was a stranger, three years ago, and told the chief of police about my work. He said: "Mr. Hoover, I wish you had been here yesterday. The police magistrate sentenced a boy to the reform school, and my officer says he is not a bad boy at all. His mother is dead, she was a good Christian woman. His father is too lazy to be mean. The boy was put into the home of a man who was drunk two-thirds of the time, and the man got tired of him and had him sent to the reform school on a charge of 'vagrancy.'" I interviewed the boy and found he had been unfortunate. I took out a writ of habeas corpus. I got the boy on a technicality. I questioned him. He had 12½ cents worth of clothes on him and a pack of cards in his pocket, and he was nine and a half years old. Said I, "Alfred, have you been to school?" "No," said he. "Ever been to Sabbath school?" "No, I don't know what a Sabbath school is." "Ever been to church?" "No." "Ever hear of a person called God?" He said, "I have heard of the gentleman. I believe he lives in Muscatine." Some people would say he was "bluffing," but he wasn't. Some children come to us who don't know of God. We need a reform in the courts. You people of the East are advanced in these things, and we are not. There must be some association that will attend the courts and prevent the sending of children who are as innocent as my children to the reform schools. At Mitchellville one of the trustees, who has been longest there and most faithful, said to me, "We have had children six years of age sent here." What crime could they have been guilty of? It is a convenient way for people to get rid of children. Many of our states need to reform along these lines.

Captain FULTON.—I have had several thousand boys pass through my hands, and I never found a boy who hadn't heard of God, prayer, church and Sunday school.

Mrs. COOPER.—Where I first taught a district school there was no Sunday school or church. When I asked the question, "Who is God?" I was answered properly, but when I asked the next question, "Who is Jesus Christ?" the girl looked up and said, "I don't know, ma'am, I don't think he has ever been to our place."

A MEMBER.—We are being compelled in our state to face the color question, whether the colored girls and white girls shall be cared for together. We hardly know what to do, and the difficulty is getting worse every week. I should like some expression in regard to that.

Rev. Mr. HOOVER.—We have no separation in Iowa.

Mr. HEYMANN.—In the South there are many charitable homes and schools and associations, but the colored are not mixed with the white children.

Mr. FOLKS.—There are entirely separate departments for white and colored children in the House of Refuge in Philadelphia.

Mr. BIRTWELL.—A lady requests me to state that in Boston fifteen private charitable institutions receive colored children on the same conditions as white children.

Mr. W. R. KING, of Georgia.—I can say in regard to the schools in the South that we have no mixed schools in Georgia and none that I know of in any of the original Southern states. I will say, also, that the state of Georgia pays out more money for the education of the colored race than for the education of the white children. It is done by a tax upon the people. All or nearly all the teachers of the colored children are educated colored men and women. The college at Atlanta for the education of colored men and women has sent out a great many teachers, and I assure you they are competent, because they have to come before our educational boards to be examined and receive certificates before they can teach. Our schools are entirely separate, but they have competent teachers.

Mr. BIRTWELL.—Early in 1892 the Boston Children's Aid Society made a change that illustrates peculiarly the main question on our program to-day. The society takes care of both dependent and wayward children. The dependent children it places directly in families without keeping them in any institution even over night. We have a trained force of agents for placing children in families, people who know how to do that work, who devote their whole time to it. Young wayward girls, also, up to about fourteen years of age, we place in families. The wayward boys we put through a course of training at two training farms, 30 boys at Pine Farm, West Newton, and 25 at Rock Lawn Farm, Foxboro, and then pass them on in a few months or a year or more to families. We had a third school for these wayward boys where we received the less difficult cases, the boys usually numbering about fifteen. But as our placing-out agency developed in strength we began to experiment to see how bad a boy we could handle in a family without a preliminary period at either of the training farms, and we found after a while that our placing-out work could stand the strain of attempting to take care of the class of wayward boys that we had been receiving into our third farm or school; and although a committee of our board of directors had grown fond of it, the board closed the school, transferred some of the boys to the other training farms, but placed the majority in private families, where, since February, 1892, we have continued to place such boys.

Dr. GREGG.—We had a boy once who, when asked about his father, said he was a thief. "Who was your mother?" "A thief." "And are you a thief?" "Yes, sir, we are all thieves." We received him, and in course of time a lady came to apply for a child. The boys were out at play, and the lady walked around and found a boy whose appearance she liked. It was the boy who had been a thief and knew nothing but to steal. I told her his reputation, but she said, "I want this boy. I will take him. I think he has never had a chance." She took him and gave him a subordinate position, and it was not long before he was promoted and again promoted. After a time a burglary was attempted and this boy heard

the noise, slipped down stairs, found his way to a lower room, and the door being ajar, discovered the burglars. He threw himself against the door, closed it, called for help and aroused the family, and when the burglars were identified, among them was one of his own brothers. That was the difference. This boy was saved.

The CHAIRMAN.—I am glad when a man says, "I don't know, this is a difficult thing." I am sure then that he is on the road to know, if he is in earnest. Do not let us go away from this meeting with any failure to get the one idea which is most important, and that is that when society has suffered an individual child to go wrong, or to be born with evil tendencies, society must bestir itself as early as possible to correct the abuse which it has permitted.

FOURTH SECTION MEETING.

THURSDAY, JUNE 15, 1893, 10.30 A. M.

Mrs. ANNA GARLIN SPENCER, Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN.—Our subject this morning is a double-headed one, "Protective Legislation, and Work among Morally Exposed Children in their own Homes." Our first paper is on the "Protection of Neglected and Abused Children," written by the Hon. FRANK B. FAY, of Boston, general agent of the Massachusetts Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children. As Mr. Fay is not present, Col. HENRY STONE, of the State Board of Lunacy and Charity of Massachusetts, will read the paper.

Col. STONE then read the following paper :

THE PROTECTION OF NEGLECTED AND ABUSED CHILDREN.

FRANK B. FAY.

Whether the people of the next century shall be better than those of the present one will depend largely upon the way the children of to-day are cared for. They will then govern the world. If existing societies in the United States relieve the sufferings of 200,000 neglected and abused children each year, we still realize that there are a million other children unrelieved. Why are they *not* relieved? For lack of means and more active organizations. Why lack of means? Because of an uneducated public sentiment which does not appreciate the necessity, and therefore does not contribute the means. The public do not understand that we receive no aid from the state, but are dependent upon personal contributions; neither do they see the economical side of the question, that every rescued child may become a self-supporting citizen instead of a burden and a care. We have, then, a double work, the protection of the defenceless and the education of the people. That education needs to extend to the legislators, the courts, the public authorities and the police. We need more law, and our friends in states that have few protective statutes should strive to secure them.

In some states there is a more severe law for punishing cruelty to animals than cruelty to children, and there seems to be a greater

interest everywhere in animal protection. Is it because Henry Bergh spoke for the speechless ten years before a voice was raised for children? Of what value is speech to many children of tender years in making known their abuse? True, the ill-treatment of animals is seen on the street, and the sympathy of the spectators is excited, while the child is punished in secret; but the pain is not therefore the less acute.

The majority of the community still believe that the parental right is paramount to the rights of the child, so we must expect criticism when, as the representatives of the state or of humane sentiment, we interfere. What instrument shall we use in this education of the people? The pulpit, for instance, may be asked to plead. If we find clergymen quoting "Spare the rod and spoil the child," let us suggest that in some later new version it may read, "Spoil the *rod* and *spare* the child." Will it be said that parents who severely punish their children are not church-going people? Our experience teaches us that this rule is not universal. Some of the best people have had the necessity of strict obedience, at any cost, so engrafted upon their minds by early influences that they do not govern by the law of love. In our churches we have "Hospital Sundays," when the contribution is for the sick, and collections are made for "Home and Foreign Missions" and other causes. Why not have one Sunday devoted to "*Child Protection*," and let this be just before Christmas, when the happiness of children is in everybody's heart? If we have "Bands of Mercy" to educate children in the humane treatment of animals, let us have "Merciful Bands" to educate men and women.

Our societies might well be termed protection and relief societies, as our work covers every form of distress; so that we need constantly to avail ourselves of asylums for the sick, blind, deaf and dumb, feeble-minded, lost and strayed, and runaways, although in these cases there may be no cruelty or wilful neglect of parents or guardians. The child needs protection, and that is our mission.

It may often happen that there appears a greater desire to punish the offender than to rescue the child, as our human nature cries out "An eye for an eye." But in cases of assault, for instance, if the parent is fined or suffers a short imprisonment, the child returns to its home to be tortured in ways not covered by the law. A more humane course, therefore, seems to be the rescue of the child, even though the parent goes unpunished.

The non-support law in Massachusetts, which imprisons a man

who unreasonably neglects to support his family, is doing excellent work, not only in cases where an arrest is made, but in hundreds of other cases where neglected wives hold the law as a weapon over their dissipated husbands. But we need extradition laws, under which truant husbands escaping into an adjoining state may be brought back for trial. Is the man who robs on the highway a greater criminal than he who robs his wife and child of promised support, and then abandons them, while he lives in comfort on the other side of an imaginary line a few miles away?

If we are unable properly to care for neglected children now in this country, we have a deep interest in the question of continued immigration, which constantly multiplies our work, as well as seriously affects the financial and moral interests of the people. Our work would naturally increase as the purposes of the societies become better known, if there were no increase of population.

One of our societies has said, "It is no part of our duty to interfere between parent and child, guardian and ward, master and apprentice." In this we disagree. We *should* interfere in behalf of any ill-treated child or ward, and, if we cannot improve the parent or guardian, we can instruct the child as to his rights and secure him another and better guardian. In Massachusetts every child fourteen years of age has the right to nominate his own guardian before the civil court, but the actual appointment is purely in the discretion of the magistrate. We seldom fail in such petitions, the court ruling that while it may regret to deprive the parent of his rights, the main question must be what is for the best interests of the child.

In a work of this kind, when humane people with hearts full of sympathy, and with little knowledge of law, ask us to do what the statutes will not justify, disappointment will follow; and it is often necessary to convince them that our inaction is not the result of unwillingness, but that our powers are limited by law. It is a delicate duty to deprive parents of their children, and the work must be done with caution, and only in cases of necessity. The parents thus deprived are not destitute of affection; the liquids they imbibe do not quench parental love; and the tears they shed are as real as those flowing from the eyes of men and women who have had better opportunities in life, or who have better resisted temptation. But our duty demands that, while we appreciate the loss of the parents, we think of the gain to the child. We should strive to be as kind

in our action as a just enforcement of the law will permit, having a constant care, in cases of apparent neglect, to distinguish between the poor and destitute and the unworthy and dissolute. But we have a constant duty to remember that these neglected children have more years before them of happiness or misery than their parents, and have not lost their rights by their own bad conduct; so that, if there is to be suffering by the severing of the family tie, the parents should be the sufferers, and the child have the "right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

However men and women may differ as to the best methods of promoting temperance, it is apparent that two-thirds of our work comes from the use and abuse of intoxicating drink, and hence we ought to be especially interested in any measure that would lessen the use of it. Drunkenness of mothers is a prevalent source of evil, and good women can find a worthy work among their own sex, who have acquired the habit, partly from the example of their husbands, and partly because they are told they can furnish more and better nourishment for their nursing infants, and the practice is not discontinued when this supposed demand for it has ceased.

The destruction of life in "baby-farms" is a fearful evil, and these places ought to be watched with vigilance by every society for the prevention of cruelty to children, and they should not be permitted to continue the business except under license from public authorities, who should make frequent inspection to insure sanitary regulations. The purpose of some of the keepers of these "baby-farms" would seem to be to destroy the children, doubtless by desire of the parents.

The employment of children in factories is an evil to be remedied. The temptation of parents, both worthy and unworthy, is to place their children as wage-earners during school age. Some states have rigid laws to prevent this, and we must touch the hearts of stockholders of corporations to check the practice.

This is not the place to discuss at length the question of corporal punishment in schools, but it seems that humane societies ought to use their influence against it. It will be admitted on all hands that the best teachers are those who resort the least to this form of discipline.

If we are sometimes questioned as to the expediency of breaking up homes and placing children in institutions, it is well to admit that institution life is not the natural life for a child; at the same time,

most of these rescued children need the reconstructive influence of an institution to prepare them for admission into an average family. Most homes will not bear with the habits and deficiencies of such children when first taken from the influences in which they have been reared.

A part of the statutes under which we act are :—

1. *The Neglect Law*, which authorizes the rescue of children under fourteen years of age, and their commitment to state, city or town authorities during minority.
2. *The Non-Support Law*, which punishes by fine or imprisonment a parent who unreasonably neglects to support his children.
3. *The Guardianship Law*, which authorizes the civil court to transfer children from unfit parents to proper guardians, and gives children over fourteen years of age the right to nominate their own guardian, whose acceptance or rejection is in the discretion of the court.
4. *The Adoption Law*, which authorizes the adoption of children by consent of parents, or without their consent, if they have failed to support them for two years, or have been convicted of being common drunkards or wantons.
5. Law providing for imprisonment for abandoning an infant.
6. Laws forbidding the sale of intoxicating liquors to minors; of firearms or other weapons to children under fifteen; of tobacco to children under sixteen; regulating the sale of dangerous toys; and prohibiting the sale or circulation of obscene literature.
7. Law forbidding the exhibition of deformed children.
8. Law forbidding the performance of children under fifteen on the stage in singing, playing on musical instruments, dancing, or acting as acrobats.
9. Law forbidding the employment of children in any dangerous occupation.
10. Law providing severe punishment for the abduction of girls for vicious purposes.
11. Children under thirteen are not to be employed in factories when schools are in session; and not under fourteen unless they have had thirty weeks' schooling in the preceding year; and the number of hours in which any minor shall be employed is limited.
12. Children under twelve are not to be sent to prison, and older children not to be placed in the same cell with adult criminals.
13. Messenger boys are not to be sent to disorderly houses.

14. Children over four years of age, with certain exceptions, are not to be retained in an almshouse, but must be placed in some suitable family or institution.

15. Law providing for sanitary regulation and fire-escapes in factories where children are employed.

16. Licenses are required for "baby-farms."

17. Laws providing for the trial of juvenile offenders, truants, and cases of neglected children in a separate court apart from adult criminals.

18. Laws forbidding the presence of minors in bar-rooms, or without the written consent of their parents in billiard rooms or bowling alleys, or the admission of children under thirteen, unaccompanied by an adult, to licensed shows and amusements taking place after sunset.

19. Law preventing parents from allowing their children to peddle on the street without a license, or to beg.

There are many other matters included in the work of humane societies, but which may here be only briefly named: the improvement of sanitary laws in regard to tenement houses and basement rooms to lessen the death-rate; watching dime museums and cheap shows of all kinds where children are liable to abuse; dance-houses, gambling rooms, and liquor saloons, where children may be employed unlawfully; street peddling by children, especially by girls; the enforcement of school laws; the circulation of humane publications, etc.

In carrying out the purposes named in this paper, four thousand children are brought before the Massachusetts Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children each year.

Less space has been devoted in this paper to what has been done than to what ought to be done and can be done. That there has been a great advance in public sentiment in the last ten years we know, but we who are in the work see how much more needs to be done. We feel assured that we have the sympathy of the best people, and with more law, more money, more work, every village in the land should be covered by this work.

Mrs. JAMES M. FLOWER, of Chicago, then invited the members to visit the jail and said:

I saw a little boy in the jail the other day. He said he was nine years old. I should not have thought him over seven. He said, "I am in for highway robbery." He took a watch from a man.

These children are from neglected homes, and have been thrown in with bad associates, and should be rescued. Boys have come to the jail who couldn't read or write. We have obtained the privilege of conducting a school in the jail. If the teacher is sure a boy is not vicious, she is able to get him into a private institution.

A MEMBER.—How many hours in the day are the boys taught?

Mrs. FLOWER.—I think about three hours. The rest of the time, also, they are separated from the other criminals. The teacher has the privilege of giving them books. The jailer has taken a great deal of interest in the work, and he gives moral support which at first we did not receive.

A MEMBER.—Are these boys treated like the other prisoners?

Mrs. FLOWER.—Yes, but the boys are in a separate department. It is a miserable department. They are building a new jail now. We are so crowded sometimes that we have to put three boys in one small cell. Owing to the accumulation of cases they are kept sometimes quite a long time, often two or three months.

A MEMBER.—Is the school represented at the trial?

Mrs. FLOWER.—Yes, the teacher or some one else attends.

A MEMBER.—Are they classified according to age, or are they all put together?

Mrs. FLOWER.—No, there is no classification in this jail. They are all put together.

Mr. BIRTWELL.—Are girls sent with the boys?

Mrs. FLOWER.—No, the girls are not sent with the boys. Most of the girls are sent to our House of Correction, called the Bridewell.

Mr. BIRTWELL.—Worse still, isn't it? Any school there?

Mrs. FLOWER.—We have got an appropriation from the City Council for a manual training school adjoining the Bridewell, through which we can do something.

GEORGE W. JOHNSON, of the State Board of Lunacy and Charity of Massachusetts.—I want to state that in Massachusetts children under seventeen years of age are not tried with adults, but at a special session for juvenile offenders, so that a boy or girl escapes the shame and confusion of appearing in the ordinary court.

Mr. BIRTWELL.—I wonder if some one will not speak of the Massachusetts law prohibiting the sending of any child under twelve to jail.

The CHAIRMAN.—I wish Mr. Birtwell would state the law.

Mr. BIRTWELL.—The Massachusetts law forbidding the commitment of children under twelve years of age to jail reads:—

"No court or magistrate shall commit any child under twelve years of age to a jail or house of correction, to the House of Industry of the city of Boston, or to the state workhouse, in default of bail, for non-payment of fine or costs, or both, or for punishment for any offense not punishable by imprisonment for life, of which said child may have been adjudged guilty."

The law contains also a salutary provision in regard to the issuance of a mere summons instead of a warrant of arrest:

"When a complaint is made to any court or magistrate of any offense, not punishable by imprisonment for life, committed by a child under twelve years of age, such court or magistrate, if an examination is deemed necessary, shall, in the first instance, issue a summons to said child requiring his presence before such court or magistrate at the time and place named in said summons; and if said child fails then and there to appear as directed in said summons, such court or magistrate shall then issue a warrant for the arrest of said child."

The following law permits, further, a summons instead of the arrest of any juvenile offender (that is, boy or girl under seventeen years of age) except in case of felonies punishable by imprisonment for life, as also of certain adults, in the discretion of the court:—

"Upon a complaint for a criminal offense of a class within the jurisdiction of trial justices a summons shall issue instead of a warrant for arrest, unless in the judgment of the court or magistrate receiving the complaint there is reason to believe that the accused will not appear upon a summons."

It is interesting to note that the captains of our various police stations in Boston will not detain in a station-house over night a child under twelve years of age, as they are sometimes urged to do pending the making of a complaint against the child to the court. Moreover, any juvenile offender, and for that matter any adult, actually arrested is taken to court either on the day of his arrest or on the next day, not counting Sunday. At our court-house in Boston we have special cells for boys, and the matron takes care of the girls.

Let me quote another provision of our law in regard to the period during which a child under twelve years may be in the custody of the court:—

"Whenever any child under twelve years of age is held by any court or magistrate for examination or trial, and said child is unable to furnish bail for such examination or trial, such court or magistrate shall commit said child to the custody of the State Board of Lunacy and Charity; and said board is authorized to make all proper provisions for the safekeeping of said child, and for his presence at the examination or trial for which he is held, at the time and place named in the mittimus."

Accordingly in Boston the State Agent, if necessary to ensure the presence of the child at the trial, may board him in some private institution during the interval referred to, or may use the Temporary Home for Women and Children which belongs to the city.

The law in relation to the trial of juvenile offenders apart from adults, to which Mr. Johnson has referred, reads:—

"Police, district, and municipal courts shall try juvenile offenders separate and apart from the trial of other criminal cases, at suitable times to be designated therefor by said courts, to be called the session for juvenile offenders, of which session a separate docket and record shall be kept."

I ought to give, also, the law in regard to the notification of parents and the State Board of Lunacy and Charity, and the attendance at court of agents of that board. This is the law:—

"When any such boy or girl [between the ages of seven and seventeen years] is so brought on such complaint before such court or magistrate, a sum-

mons shall be issued to the father of the boy or girl, if living and resident within the place where the boy or girl was found, and, if not, then to the mother if she is living and so resident; and, if there is no such father or mother, then to the lawful guardian, if there is one so resident; if not, then to the person with whom, according to the statement of such boy or girl, and such testimony as shall be received, he or she resides; and if there is no such person, the court or magistrate may appoint some suitable person to act in behalf of such boy or girl, requiring him or her to appear at a time and place stated in the summons, and show cause, if any there is, why such boy or girl should not be committed to the reform school [Lyman School for Boys] or industrial school [Industrial School for Girls] respectively. And the court or magistrate, when of the opinion that such boy or girl should, if the allegation contained in the complaint be true, be sent to a public institution or committed to the custody of the State Board of Lunacy and Charity, shall cause written notice of such complaint to be given by mail or otherwise to the said board, which shall have an opportunity to investigate the case, attend the trial, and protect the interest of or otherwise provide for the child."

Perhaps Mr. Johnson, of the State Board, will say something in regard to the attendance of the State Agents, so-called, at court.

Mr. JOHNSON.—The agent acts as the next friend of the accused, hears all the circumstances in the case, acquaints himself as far as possible with the antecedents of the child and his former character, and then, after hearing the evidence before the court, decides what will be for the best interest of the child, having due regard, of course, for the best interest of society. Then he makes such recommendations to the judge as he sees fit in regard to the disposition of the case, and sometimes, if the child is very young and it seems that his character has been heretofore good, that he is not vicious in mind, the agent may recommend probation, or he may advise commitment to the custody of the State Board. If he is committed to the custody of the board, it has it in its discretion to place him in a family or to send him to the State Primary School. If the boy should prove unmanageable or incorrigible in the State Primary School, the board could then transfer him to the Lyman School for Boys, and for the same reason it could transfer a girl to the Industrial School for Girls.

A MEMBER.—Are these State Agents political appointments?

Mr. JOHNSON.—They are appointed by the State Board of Lunacy and Charity under civil service rules.

A MEMBER.—Are they paid by the state?

Mr. JOHNSON.—Yes.

A MEMBER.—May they be political offices in any way?

Mr. JOHNSON.—No.

MRS. B. WILLIAMSON, general secretary of the State Charities Aid Association of New Jersey.—That is a very important point, which I wish to have brought out, because we are forming plans for the same sort of an arrangement in the state of New Jersey, and I want to know if there is any danger of these appointments getting into the political arena.

Mr. JOHNSON.—Politics do not affect the board in any way. Under the civil service rules we have to make appointments from among those who are sent to us by the civil service commissioners, and we

never know what party any applicant belongs to or what friends he may have.

CHARLES E. FAULKNER, superintendent of the Soldiers' Orphans' Home, Atchison, Kansas.—One important point made in the paper of Mr. Fay was with reference to the need of preparing many children by institutional training to enter homes. There seems to be a growing feeling among some of the people of Massachusetts and New York and Pennsylvania that institutions for dependent children are not necessary, but that the children should be transferred directly from the street to the home of the family that is to take charge of them. Most people of the Western states differ from that view. We take the position that preparatory training is necessary in the case of the majority of abandoned and neglected children.

I desire to call attention to another point—as to the propriety of the state interfering to take the child away from its parents. That is a delicate point, but everybody must concede the right of the state to interfere. Where the child has a depraved father or mother and is clearly neglected, going the wrong way, the state, in the interest of society, should take possession of the child and see to it that it finds a lodgment in some well-ordered home. Here you strike the keynote to the whole subject.

If a mother is very poor and unable to care for her child, and in consequence has temporarily given up her child, when she gets on her feet again it should be returned to her; but if the mother is unworthy and on that account the child has been taken from her, and she comes and seeks to recover it, then refuse to return the child to her custody and control. Parental authority must be respected so long as the parents are worthy. But if the mother is dissolute and the father depraved, the power of the state should interfere and take the child.

A MEMBER.—Who is to judge?

Mr. FAULKNER.—The judge of the probate court in the county where the parents reside. In Kansas no child can be committed without a finding by the judge of the probate court. If a mother comes and makes a plea of destitution and desires to surrender her child, and the probate court finds that she is absolutely destitute, the judge finds that a case of merit, and the institution takes the child. Cases of neglect and ill-treatment, also, are tried by the judge of the probate court on any complaint properly lodged.

A MEMBER.—Who can complain?

Mr. FAULKNER.—Any citizen of the state.

A MEMBER.—How can a mother get her child back? How can she prove that she is capable of taking care of her child and worthy of having it restored to her?

Mr. FAULKNER.—Certainly a mother residing in the county is capable of furnishing evidence as to her capability of taking care of the child. The trustees are vested with full discretionary power to return any child. We require the same evidence that people require in ordinary business transactions.

A MEMBER.—What can you do with a mother who is not dissolute, but deserted by her husband and herself utterly inefficient?

Mr. FAULKNER.—Our law provides that any child dependent upon the public for support may be sent on the application of the mother. The purpose in having the probate court supervise the proceedings is to prevent the parents from needlessly unloading their children on the state. The tendency on the part of a great many people is to let the state take the children until the parents are ready to take them back again. A careful examination is made as to the merits of each case, and the probate judge makes a certified finding of all his proceedings, and the child can be received into the institution only on a finding of the probate judge.

A MEMBER.—I would like to know whether the probate judges are appointed or elected.

Mr. FAULKNER.—They are elected. There has never been any complaint in Kansas, so far as I know, that the duties of probate judge have been performed in any manner which would indicate political discrimination.

The CHAIRMAN.—The office is not elective in all of the states.

Mr. FAULKNER.—In the Western states the probate judge is elected by the people.

The CHAIRMAN.—I want Mr. Johnson to tell the difference in the method of appointment.

Mr. JOHNSON.—In Massachusetts and most of the Eastern states every judicial officer is appointed by the Governor. As Mr. Faulkner described the system of Kansas it seemed to me identical with Massachusetts both in regard to the power of the state to take the control of the children where the parents are unworthy, and also in regard to the reform schools. We think reform schools a very great necessity, but we think also that in connection with them we should have a system which will avoid the necessity and even the possibility of sending a child to an institution when the family is the proper place for him, and that in all cases where we discover that a child is not a criminal and does not need punishment, but only requires the training of a good family, we should place him in a family rather than in an institution.

The CHAIRMAN.—The Marquis de CHASSELOUP-LAUBAT will now speak to us regarding the French system.

Marquis de CHASSELOUP-LAUBAT.—In France the child may be taken from the parents if the child is badly treated, but, of course, this is done only when ill-treatment is proved, because we think it is a serious thing, especially in a case where a woman has led a dissolute life and the child is the only chance of salvation left to her, and where if you take the child away she is done for altogether; therefore the judges are very prudent in this matter.

Another feature of the French law is that the judges are not elected, but appointed, and for life, because we don't believe that judges should represent in any sense a political party. They represent the

nation, the whole state at large, and therefore should be appointed for life. We think this is the way to secure their absolute independence and to place them above suspicion.

In France we have had several different ways of taking care of abandoned children. Sometimes we have put them in asylums and sometimes in homes—private homes in the country. Evidently there are some advantages and some disadvantages in both systems. Asylums do not always work as they ought to work. That is perfectly certain. We have found out also, in some cases, that the child placed in a private home was looked upon too much as an agricultural laborer and made money out of. Putting a child in a family away from town is perhaps a good thing from a physical standpoint, but the education is often not at all what it ought to be, and we may not know exactly whether the child receives the treatment that it should receive. We do not think that a child receives as much attention from a mother who has other children as from another person. A new system which has been suggested is to put children in small groups under women paid by the state or by humane societies, and give them in these small groups and small schools a sufficient education. Now which of those three systems will prove the best I cannot say.

Mr. BIRTWELL.—For the rescue of children from unfit parents by process of law, I believe that volunteer organizations like the societies for the prevention of cruelty to children are essential. The police cannot be depended upon to take action of their own accord under such laws as our Massachusetts "neglect law." Policemen are not apt at initiative in fine issues. Nor are they anxious to make enemies on their beat. In Massachusetts there is a single central society with headquarters in Boston, the "Massachusetts Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children." It has volunteer agents in all the cities and towns of the state. It constantly urges people in the country districts as well as in the cities to be more courageous in reporting cases of abuse or neglect. It will, when desired, seek evidence independent of its informant, and through its paid agents take upon itself the work of prosecution.

In one of our counties there is also an organization that, in addition to other work in behalf of children, performs the functions of a society to prevent cruelty, the Hampden County Children's Aid Society, with headquarters at Springfield. But I doubt if it is wise to combine the work that proceeds by friendliness and persuasion with that which involves prosecution. The so-called "Cruelty Society" must make enemies among the poor, and the visits of its agents inevitably place families under suspicion. A society that must make itself a terror to evil-doers can hardly count upon the welcome in the homes of the poor that is so essential to work of a purely friendly character. Here, therefore, we see the proper division of function and labor between a Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children and a Children's Aid Society.

It is interesting to note that the United States gave to England the idea of the society to prevent cruelty to children.

The CHAIRMAN.—I want to ask a question for my own information, and doubtless also it will be for the information of others. I want to know if any delegate present knows of any state in these United States where there is a discrimination made in a distinct and legal manner between state control over children received simply because the parents are poor, and over children taken from parents where there are other attendant evil circumstances.

Mr. FAULKNER.—The Kansas law is that when any child is received the parental control ceases; but the child may be returned to the custody of parents who have recovered their ability to provide for it and are worthy to assume its control.

The CHAIRMAN.—Our own law is the same as that. I want to know if there is anything different. In cases coming under my personal observation great suffering has been caused and real injustice done to either the own parents or the foster-parents by giving a state institution or board of charity as complete control over a child whose parents were simply too poor, temporarily, to keep them, as if these parents were degraded or cruel. To illustrate: A French Canadian woman living in Rhode Island was deserted by her husband, who was doubtless a worthless fellow, just before her fourth child was born. She was taken to the state almshouse, as she had not lived long enough in her town to acquire any other settlement. Under the Rhode Island law at the time no child above the age of three years could remain in the almshouse. Her two older children were therefore taken from her and placed in our State Home School for Dependent Children. She remained for some time in the almshouse, with her two younger children, after the birth of the fourth. Then she came out and got work in a cotton mill and set up a little household. Then she wanted the little boy and girl back from the state school. The boy was readily returned, but the little girl, a very attractive child, had meanwhile been placed in a most excellent family with foster-parents who loved her as their own and were giving her every chance for the best education and nurture. Moreover, the foster-parents had no idea, from the facts given them at the time they took the child, that there would ever be any claim set up by the own mother. Several months had elapsed between any word from the mother received at the school and the departure of the child to her new home. The demand of the mother for her child was backed up by her priest, and under our laws was strong in the court as against the claim of the foster-parents. Yet it was clear to our board of management that it was nothing short of a tragedy to tear that little girl, after a year of such a home-life, out from all the new rootings in refinement and intelligence, and plunge her with such quickened sensibilities into the factory-tenement life of her own mother and the life of drudgery in the mills; as from the age of ten years the laws of Rhode Island at that time allowed a child to work,

except during sixteen weeks of compulsory school attendance annually until the age of fifteen. The mother on the other hand, although as she said, she wanted the little girl "because she didn't feel right about her being away and she'd be handy to mind the baby," had a real, if coarse and undeveloped, mother-love for the child.

Now this story is one of many facts that point to a danger that must in some way be guarded against in placing children where they are to be received free of charge and brought up as own children. To keep the children long in the institution we say is not right; but to plant them in the best sort of home with the possibility of their being torn up by the roots again, and of the foster-parents being so outraged in their benevolence and love, is a serious thing. If all placed-out children were wholly orphaned, no such complication would of course arise. If all placed-out children not wholly orphaned had wicked parents such complication should not arise, because in that case society owes it to the child and to itself to protect the child from those wicked parents. But where, as in very many cases, the reasons for the child's dependence upon the state are shiftlessness or extreme poverty only, even temporary poverty, it is a very doubtful thing in my mind whether the state should have the power to part permanently the child from its parents in blood. And if the state cannot do this rightfully, the law should make a distinct discrimination between pecuniary incapacity on the part of the parent and moral incapacity, and prevent both the poor parent from losing wholly his or her right, and any possible foster-parent from taking a child "as one of the family" to love and cherish, only to have it plucked away just when it can begin to repay the affectionate care lavished upon it. It would seem that children whose parents are only temporarily overborne by poverty and thus compelled to give up their children, should, if old enough to be placed free of charge, be so placed only with a clear understanding of the possibility of being reclaimed by the parents, and otherwise should be boarded out for at least two or three years, during which the parents' rights should be regarded and the natural relationships of the family respected. We need a new form of law which shall at once offer the merely poor parent a chance easily to recover the child, and also fix a time-limit, beyond which that chance shall lapse, for the protection of the child in its opportunities for new placement.

Mr. SNYDER.—I merely want to say that you have very clearly stated the only drawback which has occurred to me in our system. In the case which you state, where a woman at the time of commitment is not able to care for her children, they become the wards of the state and go into the school, and are afterwards adopted. When they are adopted, or go out on trial under indenture, the law enters into a contract with the people who take them, and preserves to the people certain rights. We will assume that the children have gone into homes in which they have kind foster-parents. Certain rights have accrued to the people who have taken them. In the

meantime the child's mother and father have got into better circumstances. We will suppose that they are now able to support their children. It is a very hard thing to say that they cannot have them.

A MEMBER.—I think the case the Chairman referred to should not have arisen at all; for I think in the first place the mother should have been kept out of an almshouse. I think there is a solution of this whole problem on a more ideal plan. Keep the family together, and let the state pay a per capita allowance to the mother for the support of the children, for whom she is more capable of caring than any one else.

Marquis de CHASSELOUP-LAUBAT.—In France a certain kind of support is afforded to poor mothers, but the state does not recognize the right of anybody to claim assistance unless he really cannot work. In schemes for improvement the question arises whether the good done may not be small compared with the evil that will follow. If you give an allowance to a poor mother, then will not the whole poor population be tempted to apply for assistance?

Mr. BIRTWELL.—In the instance given by the Chairman the trouble arose from the misunderstanding at the start; the family the little girl was placed with wrongfully counted the mother out of the future of the case. The error may have been accidental, but ordinarily it could be avoided by having a clear understanding and by paying board when necessary to get the younger children into families. By the Massachusetts law a parent cannot forfeit his right to his child through mere poverty, except that—and I confess this always struck me as harsh—his consent to a petition for adoption of his child is not required "if he has suffered such child to be supported for more than two years continuously, prior to the petition, by a charitable institution incorporated by law, or as a pauper by a city or town or by the commonwealth."

The CHAIRMAN.—We shall now hear from the Rev. E. J. DUPUY, of Paris, France.

Rev. E. J. DUPUY.—I think that in case of poverty the state must be very prudent, and it is, I think, the duty of individuals to help the families, and it is not the duty of the state. The state is a guardian and protector, but the state is not a restaurant-keeper, as we say in France. The state is merely to protect, and the law we have in France I think answers the purpose very well. I am quite against certain theories that have lately been brought out in certain schools that want the state to do everything in this line. We are not to make people's lives easy, but to help them to work their way through life. I think that if both can work in perfect harmony—the state institutions and the private boards and individuals—it will be a great deal better. At any rate we must be on the lookout against applying to the state too much, which would work the utter ruin and impoverishment of the state. Do not lose your individuality if you do not want to lose your strength.

I don't quite approve of the application of the Massachusetts law to some cases in which the children are to a certain degree responsible. Some magistrates have said in Paris that merely having locked them up for forty-eight hours all alone has utterly changed some of the boys. If they are put in a cell, there is a great deal of fear, but that may be quite salutary and necessary; and when they come before the judge they will listen to him perhaps more attentively than if they simply came through the city with their hands in their pockets. It may be an object-lesson for a boy, and he will become acquainted with prison life without getting into the depths of it.

The CHAIRMAN.—We must now close discussion on the first head of our topic, and discuss the question of "Work among morally exposed children in their own homes." Mr. BIRTWELL, general secretary of the Boston Children's Aid Society, will open that question by telling us about "Home Libraries."

HOME LIBRARIES.

CHARLES W. BIRTWELL.

The first Home Library was established by the Boston Children's Aid Society in January, 1887. Now it has seventy libraries here and there throughout Boston, and regards them as an important department of its work. The origin of the plan that has found so much favor in our eyes was simple. I had been connected with the Children's Aid Society but a short time when many avenues of work opened up before me, and it was quite perplexing to see how to make my relations to the various children I became acquainted with real and vital. Among other things the children ought to have the benefit of good reading and to become lovers of good books. Indeed, a great many things needed to be done for and by the children. Out of this opportunity and need the Home Library was evolved.

A little bookcase was designed. It was made of white wood, stained cherry, with a glass door and Yale lock. It contained a shelf for fifteen books, and above that another for juvenile periodicals. The whole thing, carefully designed and neatly made, was simple and yet pleasing to the eye.

I asked my little friend Rosa at the North end, Barbara over in South Boston, and Giovanni at the South End, if they would like little libraries in their homes, of which they should be the librarians, and from which their playmates or workmates might draw books, the supply to be replenished from time to time. They welcomed the

idea heartily, and with me set about choosing the boys and girls of their respective neighborhoods who were to form the library groups. Then a time was appointed for the first meeting of each library. The children who had been enrolled as members met with me in the little librarian's home, and while one child held the lamp, another the screwdriver, another the screws, and the rest did a heap of looking on, we sought a secure spot on the wall of the living-room of the librarian's family and there fastened the library.

I remember that to start the first library off with vigor, and secure the benefit from the beginning of a little *esprit de corps*, I went with the children the evening before the establishment of the library to see the Cyclorama of the battle of Gettysburg. We rode in a driving snowstorm in the street-cars from the North end, and had a gala evening. We got a bit acquainted, and on the next evening, the time appointed for the laying of the cornerstone of the whole Home Library structure, the first library, you may be sure the children without exception were on hand. I believe we had to wait a little while for Jennie, who lived across the hallway from Rosa, to "finish her dishes"; then up went the library. Very quickly the second library was established in South Boston, the third at the South End, and before long some neighborhoods were dotted with libraries.

The idea at the beginning was that the groups should be made up of fifteen children, but later we adopted ten as a better number. So the family in which a library was placed would have the books always within reach, and a handful of children from the same tenement-house or near neighborhood would have access to the books at the time set for their exchange, and when a group had extracted the juice from one set of books we would send them another. It was understood at the start that the children outside of the librarian's family should exchange their books only once a week. I dropped in on the children when I could, but soon saw that the effectiveness of the work would be increased by regular weekly meetings of each group. As it would be impossible for me to visit them all myself, volunteers were sought to take charge each of a single library. Quickly the visitors began to come to me with all manner of puzzles—how to get the children to keep their hands clean, how to induce them to read thoroughly, what to do for a child who was ill, or a lad who was playing truant. Out of these interviews with individual visitors grew naturally the thought of a monthly conference of the visitors; and from an early period in the history of the libraries we

have met once a month, except during the summer, and spent an hour and a quarter in discussing a great variety of questions, some general and some particular, that arise in connection with the libraries.

I must dwell a moment on the selection of books. The aim was to put really good literature into the hands of the poor in such a way that they would grow to love that literature. People, after all, are not so unlike. A really good book, a book that is human, that touches our sense of rugged reality, or the fancy or imagination which is native to us and as real as anything in us, is sure of a welcome among all classes of people, if it is couched in intelligible terms. I chose some books that I happened to have read myself, but soon coming to the end of the list of which I was perfectly sure, and finding it impossible to review enough books myself, I secured the volunteer help of a number of ladies who understood the children of the poor and knew how to pass judgment on books proposed for their reading. It was definitely understood that every book should be read by the reviewers from cover to cover. We would not depend upon advertisements, hearsay, or vague recollections of books read by ourselves years ago, but every book should be read from beginning to end with the immediate question in view of the admission of the book to the little libraries to be read by the poor in the homes of the poor. Publishers and book-dealers sent us books for examination. Upon a careful consideration of the written reviews of the volunteer readers, prepared according to certain canons, was based the decision as to their acceptance or rejection. It seemed clearly not worth while to take to the poor books not really worth their reading. If good books would not be read, then the plan should be given up. Had we been careless in the selection of books we easily might have done no little harm, and should not have learned that clean, unsensational, vigorous books that are loved by children in the homes of the well-to-do are welcome to children in the homes of the poor. The way to good taste in reading is not, as some curiously declare, through the mire of the dime novel and the sensational story, but straight along the clean, bright path of decent literature.

Although, by reason of the natural preference of some visitors, or the effect of changes in groups at first made up of both sexes, some groups are wholly made up of boys and others of girls, the ideal group is a mixed one as regards both sex and age—ten boys and girls from seven or eight to fifteen or sixteen years of age. Thus we

provide for a healthful, unconscious association of the sexes and the training of the younger and older in their behavior toward one another, and in general touch the maximum range of relations, difficulties and services.

It follows from this make-up of a group that our books must be varied in order that in each set there shall be food for each child. So every library is made up of fifteen volumes, running the whole gamut from the nursery tale to Tom Brown at Rugby or Uncle Tom's Cabin, and also selections from juvenile periodicals suited to children of different ages, there being five collections of periodicals in each library, each collection comprising a bound portion of the annual issue of some periodical. You will readily see, therefore, that in order to select a new library it is necessary to have forty or fifty approved and unassigned books to choose from, and never is a set made up with its fairy tales, pictures of sweet domestic life, stories of adventure, simple history and biography, short stories, long stories, fact and fancy, humor and pathos—never is a set made up, preliminary to starting out upon its first visit, without my mouth watering to read them all myself.

To put the books to an interesting test, but more especially to induce the children to read appreciatively and really use their minds as they read, a form was made out on which the librarian or visitor should record the opinion of each child in regard to each book he returns. The evolution of these opinions from the obnoxiously frequent "nice" and "very nice," or the occasionally refreshing "no good," of the early history of a group into really intelligent and discriminating opinions, is one of the sure marks of progress and value in the work.

A set of books usually remains with one group of children ten weeks or three months before it is exchanged for a fresh set and in turn goes to another group. So you see the Home Libraries stand for nothing less than a perennial and constantly fresh stream of good literature.

To make sure of the parents being back of us in our relations to the children, we have a little blank application for membership, which is signed by the parent or guardian as well as the child. It is noticeable that on many of these cards the children write not only their own names but the names of their parents, the latter, themselves unable to write, affixing their cross.

The volunteer visitors, as opportunity offers, on cards placed in their hands for the purpose, make a record of information concerning the family, their history, condition, habits, their reading at the inception of the library, and subsequently such items as may reveal their further history and the possible relation of the library to their life.

Close upon the heels of this effort to make books mean to poor children what they mean to the more fortunate, followed the idea of bringing to them a knowledge of those ways of having a good time within the walls of one's own castle that are so familiar in families where parents have leisure and ingenuity, and that make our childhood seem to our adult years, of a truth, a golden age. Without the elbow-room that some kinds of fun require, without money to buy games, without leisure to play them or to teach them to their children, forever held down by drudgery, forever pressed upon by the serious hand-to-hand fight to keep the wolf from the door, is it strange that the poor know next to nothing of the commonest home games and diversions? To the Home Libraries, a name sweet and dear to us who have had to do with them, came this further idea of Home Amusements. After the exchange of books, conversation about them, the recording of opinions, perhaps also reading aloud by the visitor or the children, they turn from books to play. It is the duty of the visitor to be informed in the art of merriment, and to teach the children all sorts of ways of having fun at home. Nor is it a slight advantage that thus inducement comes to the grown-up folks to look on and laugh too.

But as naturally as the rose-bush grows and more than a single bud appears and turns to blossom, so came another unfolding from the Home Libraries stock. "The destruction of the poor is their poverty." Might we not add to the home reading and home amusements inducements to Home Thrift? We began to get the children to save their pennies. Presently the Boston Stamp-Savings Society was established. So we purchase stamps from that society and supply them to visitors. The visitors in turn sell them to the children at the weekly meetings. The children are supplied with cards marked off into spaces in which they paste the pretty stamps as they buy them. When a card is filled, or when the total value of the stamps on a card is sufficient to make it worth while, perhaps fifty or seventy-five cents or a dollar, the stamps are redeemed, and the visitor goes with the child to open an account at

some regular savings bank. The collection of pennies is resumed, to be followed by another redemption of the stamps and the swelling of the account at the savings bank.

I hardly need tell you that the Christmas festivities of the children are largely held under the auspices of the little libraries, or that in the warmer season you will find the visitors and children taking excursions together to the lovelier spots in the woods and at the shore. Once a year, too, we have a sale of plants. Last spring we sold three hundred and eighty-three plants to the children for windows and gardens. We have promised that all who will appear this autumn with live plants shall have a treat.

Through the visitors, too, we hear of cases of destitution, truancy, waywardness and moral exposure, of unfit dwellings, and illegal liquor-selling. Such things we report to suitable agencies,—the other departments of our Children's Aid Society, the Associated Charities, the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, the Board of Health, the Law and Order League.

From all of this you will easily see why we think that ten children are enough for a single group or visitor. We expect the visitor to know not only the children of the group, but the families to which they belong, and as the children grow older, and are graduated from the little libraries, to follow them still as their friends. It is a highly important function of the Home Library to bring with good books a good friend, whose advice the children will seek, whose example they will aim to follow, and whose esteem they will not wish to forfeit.

We are having to face more and more the question of the graduates of the libraries. One thing we propose for them is a printed list of selected books that are in the Public Library with the numbers that they bear. These lists in the hands of our graduates we think will continue to guide them to the choice of good reading. So, too, we hope to see our graduates go from the little libraries into the working girls' clubs, the associations for young men, and the workingmen's and workingwomen's clubs. And we want the love of good books, and all that good books stand for, to follow them.

We have now, about six years and a half since the first library was established, seventy libraries scattered throughout Boston, with sixty-three volunteer visitors and a membership of six hundred and thirty-four children. Since June, 1889, one paid assistant, a lady who was among the first volunteers in the work, has been employed, and has rendered most interested and efficient service. For the past

two years we have employed also an extra summer-assistant, as so many of the visitors are away during that season, and as we try to give every library group at least one outing during the midsummer months. A committee of the Board of Directors of the Boston Children's Aid Society have acted as volunteer visitors, and promoted and strengthened in various ways this department of the Society.

From the beginning it has seemed best to let the experiment work itself out somewhat fully before attempting to say too much about it. A widespread demand, however, for fuller information has arisen, and home libraries are being established in various cities. I hope that before long a full record of the establishment and growth of the Home Libraries in Boston may be placed at the service of any who seek to adopt this form of philanthropic effort among the children of the poor.

The CHAIRMAN.—I will now call upon Mr. PICKERING for a few remarks in discussion of this topic.

Mr. HENRY G. PICKERING, of the Board of Directors of the Boston Children's Aid Society.—I can only add to what Mr. Birtwell has said, that my own experience has covered a period of about four years with the children of my library. As we believe in the family as the unit of society, so we believe in the child as the unit of the library. We are enabled by means of our acquaintance and friendship with the children and their families to do much in the way of correcting neighborhood abuses and creating pleasant and firm neighborhood alliances and friendships.

The experience has covered long enough time to enable us to say that we regard the Home Libraries as a firmly established part of our work.

One word, also, in regard to industrial and reform schools. Let us make them, if we can, half-way houses on the way to family life. I think the time will come when we can dispense with them. If a temporary school is necessary, let it be as far as possible like a family, under some good woman and, preferably, without a title or name. In this way I think we shall come gradually to family life and avoid all stigma.

It is most inadvisable to put capital into brick and mortar. For the best work for children all that is needed is an office, a corps of well-trained and well-paid assistants, and all the good and wise volunteer work that you can secure in addition. This will, I think, in time solve the problem effectually.

The CHAIRMAN.—I should like to hear from Miss BALCH.

Miss EMILY G. BALCH, of Boston.—I have nothing to say on the general question of preventive work, but on the question of Home

Libraries I should like simply to add a word of confirmation that comes from personal experience, and especially I should like to speak of what seems to me the unique value of Home Libraries in Americanizing our very various foreign population. It seems to me that the imagination is the best and most influential part of a child. When the child's fancy is occupied with the stories that we give our children to read, the stories that at least suggest what is best in American life, we are preparing the child for future American citizenship. I think it is very noticeable to every one who has had charge of a Home Library group composed of children of different nationalities, that they grow together, and grow towards a common and better ideal. For about a year and a half I have had a group composed of Italian and French children and one American child, and it has been very interesting to see the quiet, subtle change that has come over them.

The CHAIRMAN.—It now becomes my duty to close the sessions of this Section, and the lateness of the hour compels me to do so abruptly. We came here with a desire to study the problems of our work of child-saving; we go away with a still more earnest purpose to add to our quickened zeal the knowledge required for wise and progressive action. Let this be our motto: Love all children, bless each young life with true nurture, succor the friendless and exposed with tenderest care.

APPENDIX.

NOTES ON TWO RECENT INQUIRIES INTO THE PHYSICAL AND MENTAL CONDITION OF CHILDREN IN CHARITABLE INSTITU- TIONS AND PUBLIC SCHOOLS.*

FRANCES R. MORSE,

Of the Board of Directors of the Boston Children's Aid Society, Boston, Mass.

Dr. Amos G. Warner, Superintendent of Charities for the District of Columbia, in his report of June, 1892, gives an account of a card-census made by him, covering the 611 children in Washington institutions in 1892.

Dr. Warner says (p. 28): "Of the 611 children, 32 were afflicted with some nervous trouble, epilepsy, paralysis, or some grade of feeble-mindedness, ranging all the way from idiocy up to those described simply as 'very dull.' None are included in this number (32) except those who had some marked mental defect or nervous disease.

"Beside these, 92 of the children were markedly defective or diseased. Not many cripples were found, but many afflicted with severe forms of scrofula and other varieties of practically incurable blood-poisoning.

"Thus it will be seen" that 1 out of 5 of "the children in our institutions is unwell mentally or physically. This, of course, does not include those who are suffering from such ailments common to institution life, as mild skin disease, sore eyes, etc. It should be said that the institutions are, for the most part, in nowise responsible for the sickly condition of the children, but that, on the other hand, the tendency of a family to sickness is often responsible for the dependency of a child.

* Through accident this paper did not reach the secretary in time to be read at the Congress.—EDITORS.

"The largest proportion of feeble-minded or nervously diseased cases is apt to appear in institutions for wayward girls."

Dr. Warner further says: "An inquiry was made regarding the parentage of the children, but the returns were not sufficiently complete to make it worth while to tabulate them. It was ascertained that in some of the institutions the parents of more than half the children were one or both of them of distinctly bad character. Many of the children of drunken parents were described as 'not up to par,' though it could not be stated that they were physically or mentally diseased."

Such a card-census as this of Dr. Warner's could be made, and kept up from year to year, in our public and private institutions for children, on cards prepared under the supervision of physicians.

The evidence thus obtained could not fail to be valuable, and it might eventually modify and improve our whole system of the education and care of dependent and delinquent children.

It would be helpful, also, to managers and superintendents of institutions to have their attention kept constantly on the alert for the slight physical and mental indications which are too easily neglected and even not observed. The unsatisfactory result of the inquiry regarding parentage shows how imperfectly our investigations are sometimes made, though exception must be made of those cases where investigation will show no result, as in the case of foundlings.

The other inquiry into the physical and material condition of children is on a much larger scale. It began with the British Medical Association, was reinforced by the Charity Organization Society of London, and passed from a joint committee of these two organizations into the hands of a committee appointed by the International Congress of Hygiene and Demography (London, 1891). It has already covered a child-population of 50,000, included in 106 schools (poor-law schools, certified industrial schools, homes, orphanages, and public elementary schools). In a letter to the *London Times* of December 8, 1892, it is said: "Scientific investigation in regard to the conditions of bodily development and brain action indicated new and grave problems respecting the care and training of children defectively developed, and the causation, in certain districts, of mal-development much associated with defects of the brain. The Congress therefore appointed a committee to make extended scientific inquiry into the mental and physical condition of children and the methods of education and training." The com-

mittee has already published a preliminary report, and is to report finally to the Congress of Hygiene and Demography to be held in 1894.

The committee consists of Lord Egerton of Tatton, Sir Douglas Galton, Sir Henry E. Roscoe, and Dr. Francis Warner. Their address is the Parkes Museum, Margaret Street, London, W.

In their preliminary report these figures are given:

No. of children seen in boarding institutions....	13,649	No. noted, 2,956
“ “ “ public elementary schools	36,378	“ “ 6,220
Totals	50,027	9,176

“The ‘number noted’ indicates the total number of children who, as presenting deviations from the normal, were selected from the total number of children seen.”

These figures show a coincidence with Dr. Amos G. Warner's Washington figures, where he found that one out of five children in institutions “is unwell, mentally or physically.” The English inquiry, however, covers more than twice as many children in the public elementary schools as children in institutions.

The committee say: “Variations from the normal were found in a large percentage among the poor-law children and those of the criminal classes. The whole question has a direct bearing on the educational system and social life of the country.

“Whether ‘over-pressure’ may not be due to ‘under-feeding’; whether our present educational standards are suitable in all cases; whether, in the public interest, there should not be more special care in the numerous cases of weak-minded children (frequently girls), who, it has been proved, pass in large numbers from schools to swell the ranks of our pauper, lunatic, and criminal classes, all these and other equally important points claim earnest consideration.

“The committee think that, if their investigations could be carried out on a larger scale, the tabulated results would not only throw light upon many points connected with moral and social failure, but would also form a very valuable guide towards the improvement of the education of those classes, and would pave the way to the removal of many evils which may arise from the existing system of education.”

There must be obvious difficulties in making so extended an examination of public-school children as this committee have done. Both teachers and parents might object to an examination of palate and measurement of head, etc.; but is it not possible for us to have such

examination of children who are under full control in institutions, and for whose welfare and improvement the managers of those institutions are directly responsible, and are therefore bound to get light on their difficult problem wherever they can?

To be of any value such examination must be over a large child-population, and could perhaps be best initiated by the different state boards of charity.

Should such an inquiry appear to them a wise measure, it is much to be desired that all our private institutions should join in it, that we may obtain all the evidence possible to guide us in our care of dependent and delinquent children.

THE KINDERGARTEN.*

SARAH B. COOPER,

*President of the Golden Gate Kindergarten Association, San Francisco,
California.*

To start from the very foundation of things, we are compelled to admit that a large proportion of the unfortunate children who go to make up the great army of criminals, paupers and lunatics, are not born right. They come into the world freighted with evil propensities and vicious tendencies. They start out handicapped in the race of life.

But I am to talk about what can be done for these little waifs after they are born. By what process of education and development are they to be made valuable members of society? The hereditary defectiveness of the masses must be corrected by education and hereditary culture. In order to this we must get hold of the little waifs that grow up to form the criminal element just as early in life as possible. The pliable period of early childhood is the time most favorable to the eradication of vicious tendencies, and to the development of the latent possibilities for good. The foundations for national prosperity and perpetuity are to be laid deep down in our infant schools. And the infant school, to be most successful, must be organized and carried forward on the kindergarten plan. The

*This paper was read at the last general session of the Congress, and is published here at the request of the Executive Committee as germane to the topics of this section.—EDITORS.

kindergarten has rightfully been termed the "paradise of childhood." It is the gate through which many a little outcast has re-entered Eden. Froebel, that great and beloved apostle of childhood, has founded a system that is destined to revolutionize all former methods of developing little children. His cry was "Come! let us live with our children!"

The simple fact is, we do not get hold of the little children of vice and of crime *soon enough*. An unfortunate childhood is the sure prophecy of an unfortunate life. Implant lessons of virtue and well-doing in earliest childhood, says Plato. Give me the child, says Lord Bacon, and the state shall have the man. Let the very playthings of your children have a bearing upon the life and work of the coming man, says Aristotle. It is early training that makes the master, says the great German poet. Train up a child in the way he should go and when he is old he will not depart from it, says the Revealed Word. Let us take heed to these entreaties and work with the children. Work with little children will always pay handsome dividends to the family, to the community, to the state, and to the world.

It is Ruskin who says, "The true history of a nation is not of its wars, but of its households"; and he holds it to be the duty of a state to see that every child born therein shall be well housed, clothed, fed and educated, till it attain years of discretion. But he admits that in order to the effecting of this the Government must have an authority over the people, of which we do not now so much as dream.

The children of a republic must be trained in ways of honesty, industry, and self-control. It matters not who they are, nor where they are, the state cannot afford to allow them to grow up in ignorance and crime. We have a vast number of humane institutions for the reclamation and recovery of the wayward and the erring. We have reformatory institutions, asylums, prisons, jails, and houses of correction, but all of these are only repair-shops. Their work is secondary, not primary.

The prevention of crime is the duty of society. Society has no right to punish crime at one end, if it does nothing to prevent it at the other end. Society's chief concern should be to remove the causes from which crime springs. As has been truly said, "Crime cannot be hindered by punishment. It will always find some shape and outlet unpunishable and unclosed. Crime can only be truly

hindered by letting no man grow up a criminal, by taking away the will to commit sin; not by mere punishment of its commission. Crime, small and great, can be truly stayed only by education. Not the education of the intellect only, which is, on some men, wasted, and for others, mischievous; but education of the heart, which is alike good and necessary for all." We want that sort of education which has in it more of the element of character-building.

The end of all culture must be character, and its outcome in conduct. "Conduct," says Matthew Arnold, "is three-fourths of life." The state's concern in education is to rear virtuous, law-abiding, self-governing citizens. The intelligent tradesman, the thrifty mechanic, and the sturdy yeomanry, constitute the bulwarks of a nation—the assurance of her perpetuity, her prosperity and her strength.

"Ill fares the land, to hastening ills a prey,
Where wealth accumulates and men decay;
Princes and lords may flourish, or may fade;
A breath can make them, as a breath has made;
But a bold peasantry, their country's pride,
When once destroyed, can never be supplied."

I tell you, friends, we do not half comprehend the importance of looking after the unfortunate children of our streets. What said the great and good Teacher on this subject? "Take heed that ye despise not one of these little ones, for I say unto you that in heaven their angels do always behold the face of my Father who is in heaven." And when I see the neglected, sad-faced, prematurely old, weary-eyed little ones, in the purlieus of vice and crime, there is just one thought that comes like a ray of sunlight through the rifts of cloud, and it is this: There is not one of these uncombed, unwashed, untaught little pensioners of care that has not some kind angel-heart that is pitying it in the heavens above. Parents may be harsh and brutal, communities may be cold and neglectful, but the angels must ever regard them with eyes luminous with tender pity.

What shall we do with these children? Good people everywhere should combine to care for them and teach them. Churches should make it an important part of their work to look after them. The law of self-preservation, if no higher law, demands that they should be looked after. How shall they be looked after? By establishing free kindergartens in every destitute part of large cities.

Said a wealthy tax-payer to me recently, as he paid me his monthly kindergarten subscription, "This work among the children is the best work that can be done. I give you this aid most gladly. I consider it an investment for my children. I would rather give five dollars a month to educate these children than to have my own taxed ten times that amount by-and-by to sustain prisons and penitentiaries."

Many needy children have been turned back into the street, to learn all its vice and crime, who could not find accommodation in the different charity kindergartens. This is a fact of momentous import to any community. Remember that from a single neglected child in a wealthy county in the state of New York there has come a notorious stock of criminals, vagabonds and paupers, imperilling every dollar's worth of property and every individual in the community. Not less than 1200 persons have been traced as the lineage of six children who were born of this one perverted and depraved woman, who was once a pure, sweet, dimpled little child, and who, with proper influences thrown about her, at a tender age, might have given to the world a progeny that would have blest their day and generation. In neglecting to train this one child to ways of virtue and well-doing, the descendants of the respectable neighbors of that child have been compelled to endure the depredations, and support in almshouses and prisons, scores of her descendants for six generations! The people of this country must provide a scheme of education that will not allow a single youth to escape its influence. And to effect the surest and best results, these children must be reached just as early in life as possible. The design of the kindergarten system is to prevent criminals. Think of the vast difference in results had there been twelve hundred useful, well-equipped men and women at work in that county in New York, building it up in productive industries, instead of twelve hundred paupers and criminals tearing down and defiling the fair heritage! We have but to look at this significant fact to estimate the value of a single child to the commonwealth.

The kindergartner proceeds upon the principle asserted by Froebel, that every child is a child of nature, a child of man and a child of God, and that education can fulfill its mission only when it views the human being in this threefold relation and takes each into account. In other words, the true kindergartner regards with scrupulous care the physical, the intellectual and the moral. "You

cannot," says Froebel, "do heroic deeds in words, or by talking about them; but you can educate a child to self-activity and to well-doing, and through these to a faith which will not be dead." The child in the kindergarten is not only *told* to be good, but inspired by help and sympathy to *be* good. The kindergarten child is taught to manifest his love in deeds rather than words, and a child thus taught never knows lip-service, but is led forward to that higher form of service where their good works glorify the Father, thus proving Froebel's assertion to be true, where he says, "I have based my education on religion, and it must lead to religion."

We too often start out on the principle that actuated the medical tyro who was working might and main over a patient burning up with fever. When gently entreated to know what he was doing, he snappishly replied: "Doing? Why, I'm trying to throw this man into a fit. I don't know much about curing fevers, but I'm death on fits. Just let me get him into a fit and I'll fetch him!" It seems to me we often go on the same principle, we work harder in laying plans to redeem those who have fallen than to save others from falling.

Now, I do not propose to go into the *rationale* of the Kindergarten system, but I wish to emphasize a few salient points, and first: The Kindergarten aims at the cultivation of the heart. As its great founder himself declared, its regnant aim is to guide the heart and soul in the right direction, and lead them to the Creator of all life, and to personal union with Him. As I said before, the Kindergarten is the paradise of childhood—the gate through which the little children may re-enter Eden. The law of duty is recognized by the little ones as the law of love. Froebel recognized the divine spirit as the true developing power. His theory was that the human heart can only be satisfied with the consciousness of the love of a personal God and father to whom we can pray and speak. He said religious *education* was *more* than religious *instruction*. It was his aim to lead the little ones to their Heavenly Friend. He taught them to love one another—to help one another—to be kind to one another—to care for one another. No one can love God who does not love his fellows. Froebel grieved over the criminal classes. I say again: The design of the Kindergarten is to *prevent* crime.

The state begins *too late* when it permits the child to enter the public school at six years of age. It locks the stable-door after the horse is stolen.

One of the most distinguished writers on the law of heredity, Dr. Maudsley, says: "It is certain that lunatics and criminals are as much manufactured articles as are steam-engines and calico-printing machines, only the processes of the organic manufactory are so complex that we are not able to follow them. They are neither accidents nor anomalies in the universe, but come by law and testify to causality; and it is the business of science to find out what the causes are and by what laws they work." A republic that expects to survive, and to increase in power and greatness, must see to it that she does not carry within her the seeds of her own dissolution. It remains forever true of nations, as of individuals, that ignorance and crime breed dissolution and death.

I believe with all my soul that the shortest cut to permanent victory in the cause of temperance is through the training of very little children in ways of virtue, self-government and self-control, by the proper cultivation of the heart, as well as the head and hand, in the kindergarten. Only such schools as these, moulding and shaping character by careful training, will ever build up a vigorous, healthful, virtuous national life. Only such schools as these will make poorhouses, insane asylums, penitentiaries and like institutions unnecessary. Do they cost too much? Think of it—\$50,000,000 invested for asylums, poorhouses, hospitals, blind, deaf-mute, and insane asylums in the state of New York alone, with an annual outlay of \$10,000,000—and this does not include houses of correction, penitentiaries, prisons, jails and the like.

If the civil authorities cannot and do not attend to the needy, neglected children that go to swell the great lists of crime, pauperism and insanity, then Christian philanthropy should do it. Christianity is coming to be more and more practical in its aspect and work. We are coming to feel more and more that a religion that has everything for a future world and nothing for this world has nothing for either. Genuine goodness is something more than a mere self-seeking for eternity. It is a working together with God in this world for the uplifting and advancement of the human race. It is a seeking to lessen the pains and burdens of life among the toilers and the strugglers. It is a reaching out after the little children of poverty and want—the hapless little ones who have been hurled prematurely against life-wrecking problems.

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IN

Institutions of Learning

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PREFATORY NOTE.

Section VII of the International Congress of Charities, Correction and Philanthropy was directed by the organizing committee to consider "*The Introduction of Sociology as a Special Topic of Investigation and Instruction in Institutions of Learning.*" It held three sessions. One was a general session of the Congress in the forenoon of June 16th, which was committed to the care of the officers of Section VII, and the other two were sectional meetings held respectively at 10.30 A. M., June 15, and 2.30 P. M., June 16. At the general session the address of the chairman was delivered, as well as the papers by Mr. Iles and Professor Wilson, and an address by Prof. Isidor Singer of the University of Vienna on "*The Study of Social Science in Austria.*" Professor Singer was made Honorary Vice-Chairman of the meeting.

The other papers and addresses were submitted to the sectional meetings. For purposes of publication it has seemed best to re-classify the various contributions to the programme, and not to print them in the precise order in which they were delivered. An explanation of certain omissions from the printed record, as well as some account of the discussions had upon the papers, will be found in the report of the secretary at the close of the volume.

The address of Mr. Felix Adler was not prepared for this section, but was delivered at a general meeting of the Congress. It is published with this section because its subject is closely related to that of the section.

The guarantee fund which insured the publication of this volume was provided for partly by persons identified with the following universities: Columbia, Harvard, Brown and Leland Stanford, Jr., and partly from the fund raised by the organization committee of the section on "*The Organization of Charities.*"

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AMERICAN EDUCATION FROM A NATIONAL POINT OF VIEW.*

FELIX ADLER, NEW YORK.

It is a truth as old as Aristotle, enunciated by him in the eighth book of his *Politics* that the citizen should be moulded to suit the form of Government under which he lives. This truth I should like to emphasize as the starting point of my address. There is such a thing as education from a national point of view. It is not our function to educate human beings in general, but rather to educate American children, and we ought to do this keeping in view the conditions under which they will live, so that, when they are grown up, they may attain the true ends of life in the midst of just such conditions. And, further, we may say that whenever a nation has had a clear understanding of its collective life and has determined its educational system accordingly, such a nation has become great and powerful. Among the ancients Sparta is perhaps the best example. The city of Sparta, it has been said, was "an armed camp in the hollow of the Laconian hills." Its influence in Greece, its stability, its very existence depended upon its military excellence. And hence the qualities which it sought to promote among the young were strength and unquestioning obedience. To this end were directed all those strange provisions of the pedagogic code of Sparta. To this end the unrelenting, unremitting attention paid to physical culture, the means taken to inure the body to the endurance of heat, cold and fatigue. To this end the public scourgings, the pyrrhic dances in heavy armor, the barracks life to which young boys were committed from the seventh year upward. To this end, also, the encouragement given to theft and the midnight murder of slaves in order thereby to develop cunning and to quell pity. From the very first moment of his life the state took possession of the young Spartan and superintended his education in such a way that he might be fitted to take his place as a member of that proud

* An address delivered at the closing session of the Congress, June 18, 1893.

oligarchy which, dwelling in the midst of a subjugated race, was exposed to the constant peril of insurrection, and whose glory it was to crush the desire for equal liberty wherever, among the states of Greece, it ventured to raise its head. Given the aim and purpose of the Spartan commonwealth, it cannot be denied that the educational system which it used was admirably calculated to support that aim.

In Athens the ideal of beauty or proportion was combined with that of physical culture and military bravery. Productive industry was looked down upon as degrading and the citizen was expected to pass his time in such occupations as were deemed consistent with what we should now call "culture," that is to say with the exercise of the mental and the aesthetic faculties. The free citizen passed his days in legislating for the state, in dispensing justice in the courts, in taking his turn in filling the numerous executive offices, in military service, in familiarizing himself with the best products of dramatic and plastic art, in the public theatres, the temples and the open places of the city. The educational system of Athens was designed to fit the citizen to lead such a life as this, a life not spent in elegant idleness, a life that made strong demands upon the intellectual and physical energies of men, but was kept studiously remote from all sordid, self-seeking and ignoble ends. The child of the free Athenian citizen was trained from early infancy for such a life as this. The gymnastic exercises to which he was subjected were less exacting than at Sparta and were calculated to develop bodily beauty, grace, and suppleness of movement, and a dignified and collected deportment. The mind was fed on the Homeric poems with the examples which they afford of patriotism, friendship and religious piety. Music was the invariable accompaniment of such poetic recitations, or rather, it may more truly be said that music was the source out of which the pupil drew his intellectual as well as his moral sustenance. For music, with its flowing rhythms and melodies, seemed especially designed to inculcate that sense of proportion which it was the very aim of the Athenian people to realize in their lives. At a later stage, the pupil was required to familiarize himself with the laws of his country, to attend the sessions of the legislative assembly and the courts, and to spend two years in military drill and service. While at a subsequent period of Greek history, when the influence of the sophists was beginning to spread for good and evil, the subjects of mathematics, astronomy and philosophy were introduced into the curriculum of the more advanced students.

These instances I have quoted to show that the two principal commonwealths of ancient Greece clearly proposed to themselves a certain ideal of life—strength in the one case, beauty in the other—and that they deliberately shaped the education of their youths with a view to the attainment of this ideal. If, now, we descend to modern instances, we shall find other illustrations of the same concordance between educational means and national ends. In France a book has lately appeared, written by Alfred Fouillee, the very title of which, “Education from a National Point of View,” indicates its drift. No one can read this extremely stimulating book without profiting by its suggestions. But, on the other hand, no one can fail to observe how thoroughly French it is, how completely it is dominated by the French point of view, and, therefore, how utterly mistaken it would be to adopt its ideas, without previous sifting and criticism, in an American community. The author, for instance, enters a strong plea in favor of classical, especially of Latin education, and one of the arguments on which he bases this plea is that the French are a Latin race and that they need to keep up the study of Latin in order to maintain the continuity of their historic tradition. Further, he draws a sharp distinction between elementary and secondary education, assigning to the former the task of communicating indispensable knowledge—that is of equipping the pupils with such mental baggage as they absolutely require to journey through life without perishing by the way; while to the latter or secondary education he assigns the task of providing a humane and liberal culture such as will fit the students to enjoy life in the noblest fashion and to become leaders of the march of progress. In no way can the absence of a truly democratic sentiment be more clearly demonstrated than by an attempt to restrict elementary education to the task of teaching indispensable knowledge and of refusing to it the function of liberalizing and humanizing the soul. What we, the educators of America, are above all else interested in—what we mean when we speak of the New Education is precisely this,—that the pupil at no stage of his career shall be made a mere vehicle for the reception of information; that he shall never be treated as a pack-horse to be loaded with a certain bag of indispensable knowledge—indispensable to keep himself and those who may ride him from starving; but that, from the beginning and throughout the entire duration of the scholastic career, the culture which the child receives shall be liberalizing and humanizing, such as to develop every germ of talent

that may be latent in him, to bring all his faculties into action in harmony one with the other. Finally, there is ever present in the back-ground of Fouillee's thought, looming up like a portent, the dark shadow of a future Franco-German war which, though deferred, is not, therefore, even for a moment lost sight of. And his counsels are especially directed toward stiffening the intellectual and moral fibre of the French people so that they may be victorious in that fierce duel.

In Germany, too, we find that the military spirit enters the schools and diverts the course of education from its natural channel. The reduction of the term of army service to one year, which is granted as a special privilege to the educated classes, has had the effect of crowding the superior schools with a host of pupils who have no intention of following a professional career, and whose sole object is to secure this privilege of the one year term of service. While, even in the lower schools, and for the younger children, a military career is steadily held up as the goal of ambition, and the broader aims of culture are to some extent sacrificed to create an intense though somewhat narrow patriotism.

Even in England the political aim to a large extent prescribes the method pursued in the training of the young. The English people are the great colonizers of the world, and the public schools—Harrow, Rugby, Eaton and the others—are admirably fitted to develop precisely those qualities which colonizers require—independence, self-reliance, physical endurance, and mental alertness.

Now, if the greatest nations have shaped their educational systems in accordance with their national aims, if it is true that the future citizen must be moulded with a view to the conditions under which he is destined to live, what shall be the characteristic features of a truly national American education? How shall the general plan of human development be modified so as to suit the conditions which prevail in this land and among this people? To answer this question with any hope of speaking to the purpose we must first clear our minds as to what we conceive the national aim of the American people to be. This aim I believe to be a two-fold one. In the first place, to work out to a successful conclusion the problem of democratic government on a large scale. The problem of democratic government means, as it has been defined in Lincoln's classical phrase, "government of the people,"—that is, deriving its authority from the people, "government by the people,"—that is, conducted under their constant supervision,

and "government for the people,"—that is, intended solely to advance the public good. The American experiment is by no means the first that has been tried. It is the first that has been attempted on so large a scale and under conditions so favorable at the outset, among which may be mentioned the remoteness of this country from the theatre of European warfare, the unbounded resources with which this land is favored, and, above all, the circumstance that among the mixed populations which have gathered together on this continent the Anglo-Saxon race predominates—a race which has inherited the tradition, the experience and the exercise of political freedom for a thousand years. The second aim, which ought to be inseparable from the former, but is too often forgotten, is to solve the problem how, in the absence of a privileged class, to attain the highest fruits of culture; how, despite the leveling tendencies of democracy, to enable all the citizens to lead, if they will, the best life. Such being our aims, how can the educational system be made correspondent with and subservient to them? The history of this country may be roughly divided into four periods. The period represented by the Puritan commonwealth in which clergymen were the foremost figures. The period of the Revolution in which soldiers stood in the foreground. The period from the Revolution to the Civil War during which the written instrument of Government was being construed and interpreted, and when naturally jurists played the leading role. And the present period in which economic and social reform are the most prominent interests and are likely to become more and more so. So that economic and sociological thought is likely to dominate the coming age of the Republic. A struggle is impending which it will be impossible to avert. All the republics of the past, Rome, Athens, Florence, have been compelled to go through the throes of social struggles. Whether they can weather such struggles is the supreme test to which free institutions can be subjected, a test which they have never yet borne, which we, inspired by a larger hope, believe that they will triumphantly endure in this country. But struggles due to economic mal-adjustments, cannot be averted, and the great national questions of policy are likely to become increasingly such as bear on the economic relations of the different social classes. Now, since with us the people decide questions of national policy, it follows that the educational system should be so arranged as to prepare them for such decision. And of what nature shall this preparation be? It is perfectly obvious that it must be both

moral and intellectual. It must animate the future citizen with a desire to arrive at just and equitable decisions which shall redound not to the advantage of any one class, even though it be the most numerous, but of the whole social organism, enabling it to discharge its every function with a maximum of force and ease. And the preparation must further be of such a kind as to enlighten the future citizen so that he may be able to discern what is best for the whole society whereof he is a member, and may not blunder through ignorance. Let us speak of the intellectual preparation first. In the highest schools it is possible to pave the way for sound economic opinions and decisions by directly teaching economics and sociology. And this is being done on an extended scale in almost all colleges and universities. But, as the bulk of our people do not get the benefit of college and university education, and as the decision with respect to questions of economic policy rests in this country not with a select few, but with the mass, the question becomes extremely pertinent whether anything can be done in our primary and grammar schools to prepare the way for the intelligent exercise of the franchise. What we call the New Education is the answer to this question. The object of the New Education is to appeal to the intelligence of the pupil rather than to his memory, to develop in him the thinking faculty, to make his mind nimble and versatile, able to attack a variety of subjects, and also to broaden his interests by bringing into play successively or conjointly every latent potency of his nature. It is with this general preparation that we must content ourselves in the lower schools, but it is quite sufficient for the purpose. A pupil thus educated ought to be able to escape the three principal snares that beset the path of economic discussions, the inability to follow a complex train of reasoning from sheer mental fatigue; undue generalization on a scanty basis of induction; and the fallacy of mistaking mere succession in time for the sequence of cause and effect.

The pupil, however, will not be protected by any amount of intellectual training, however judicious and methodical, against the disturbing effects of prejudice, especially of that kind of prejudice which springs from self-seeking and which manifests itself in the brutal disregard of the rights of others, especially of the weak. And this leads me to ask what kind of moral preparation the schools can give for the task of citizenship. In a democratic community the will of the majority is decisive. But when the majority vote, as rendered at the

polls, is counted, it is supposed to represent not the aggregate selfish interests of the greater number, but the opinion of the greater number as to what is best for the whole number. Such is the theory. But in how many cases does the practice comport with it? And yet the problem of moralizing the education of the young so as to fit them for the true discharge of their civic duties consists entirely in generating in their minds such a temper as will always lead them to consider first and foremost what is best, not for themselves or for the class to which they belong, but for the whole number and to vote accordingly. How can such a temper be bred? A satisfactory reply to this question would straightway lead to the discussion of the kind of moral instruction which it is the business of the school to furnish its pupils, and into this discussion I cannot here enter. But I do wish to say that there ought to be moral instruction as well as moral influence in our schools; and that the kind of instruction which we are to furnish should be such as will strengthen the hold of moral habits where they already exist, as will supply the pupils with formulas of duty enabling them to steer their course rightly when new circumstances arise which have not yet been reduced under the sway of habit; and that, especially, it must be the aim to restore the state to the high place in the ethical hierarchy which belongs to it and from which rampant individualism has cast it down; to fill the pupils with a sense of the holiness of life in the state as an indispensable sphere for the realization of our larger selves.

But there is one incidental, though not therefore the less significant contribution which the public school system makes toward the creation of civic disinterestedness, in virtue of its being a system of public schools in which children of all classes of society meet and come into close daily contact. There is nothing more favorable to the sprouting of class selfishness than when the different classes hold aloof from each other, leading their lives in different channels and rarely meeting on common ground. Distance in such cases is certain to breed misunderstanding and mistrust. While, on the other hand, there is nothing more favorable to civic disinterestedness and comprehensive concern for the interests of others than frequent opportunity to meet and know others. The public schools of the United States in which the children of all classes are educated jointly have been the safeguard of our free institutions. And it is to be hoped, in the interest of our future development, that public education will always remain the rule, and

that private schools, despite the tendency now prevalent among our wealthier classes—a tendency which must be combatted—will always remain the exception.

But the national aim of America is a two-fold one, as we have already seen. To solve the problem of genuine government by the people is the one object. We are very far from having solved that problem as yet. And yet, we believe that we are in the right way. But the other object, which is even more significant than the former, is how, in the midst of democracy, to enable the citizens to lead the best life, how to make the highest culture ripen in democratic soil, and how to give all the people a share in that culture. There are critics who assert that this noble ideal of universalized culture is very far from being present to the mind of the American democracy; that, as a people, we have fallen a prey to gross materialism; that this country is, as it were, a vast plain into which all the races of the earth, like so many herds, have been turned to pasture; that as many of the earliest settlers came here to get gold, so the large majority of those now settled here are endeavoring to compass the same object, only by more indirect means; that even our boasted freedom is merely a stubborn individualism which declines to recognize a rightfully superior authority; that individualism plus the spirit of money-getting is the formula of American life. And certainly political freedom is an empty form unless it lead to culture. If the highest type of human development is possible only under a monarchy then the monarchical form of government is so far justified. If the highest type is possible only under an aristocracy then aristocratic government is justified. But if the highest type of human development is possible only in a republic, then and to that extent republican institutions are rightfully ranked above all others. Now, it may frankly be admitted that the aim of making republican institutions tributary to a universalized culture, of making all the people participate in the best life, has not been attained. But it should not be forgotten that in those republics which have preceded us this task was not even attempted. Athens, as well as Sparta and Rome, were slave-holding states. A hundred thousand captives in Athens paid the price of drudgery and degradation to make possible the statues of Phidias and the dramas of Sophocles. The difference between ancient and modern democracy cannot be more strikingly characterized than in the circumstance that in the former manual labor and manual laborers were despised; while in the latter manual labor

and laborers are honored and esteemed. This marks an antipodal contrast between the American and the ancient Republics. It marks the difference between two world-epochs resting on totally different principles. And why was manual labor despised, among the ancient Greeks, for instance? Not, as is sometimes hastily assumed, because they were self-indulgent, unwilling to work in the sweat of their brows, dainty gentlemen too fond of ease and pleasure to be willing to subject themselves to hard toil. They did toil. They did labor in the sweat of their brows. They subjected themselves to the severest military discipline. They underwent hardships and privations in the course of their gymnastic training. And not a few voluntarily deprived themselves of the pleasures of life in order to gain control of their passions and to increase knowledge. But they despised manual labor because they believed that it necessarily weds man to low and sordid aims, and prevents the exercise of the intellectual and aesthetic faculties, *i. e.*, the higher part of human nature. And if we to-day in contrast with the ancients honor and esteem manual labor, it is because we have come to understand that it is not inconsistent with the development of the moral, intellectual and aesthetic faculties; that through and by manual labor it is possible for the masses of mankind to partake of the best fruits of culture.

And how has this change of opinion been brought about? How can manual labor become the means of feeding the intellect, developing the taste and strengthening the will? For we must not deceive ourselves into the belief that already it adequately performs this function. On the contrary, it cannot be disputed that it is still to a great extent stupefying and blunting. But it can be made a help instead of a hindrance to mental development. And this leads me to the statement to which my address has been pointing all along, namely, that in a democracy manual training must be an integral element of the educational system. To estimate the force of this statement let us consider the following points. In the first place, much of the labor of the world is performed at the present time by means of machinery. Machines are the products of invention. They illustrate the laws of science as applied to man's uses. They represent the triumphs of mind over matter. It is true the factory operative who merely feeds a machine is likely to become in time as automatic in his actions as the machine itself which he superintends. But he can be redeemed from the dulling influence of routine, in a measure, if he acquire an under-

standing of the forces amid which he operates, of the ingenious contrivances entrusted to his care. Manual training, in the broad acceptation of that term, is designed to give him just such knowledge. Secondly, the more the rough work of the world is likely to be done by means of machinery, the more will there be created a demand for the finer finishing touch which can be given only by the human hand; and this requires skill. It is the object of manual training to impart skill, and skill is nothing else than mentality injected into manual operations, the hand moving under the constant and delicate check and guidance of the mind. And here permit me to observe that manual training which imparts skill may be regarded as the very corner-stone of our free institutions. For it has been justly said that the high wages which are paid to American workmen are a guarantee of their political as well as of their material independence. Without high wages they would decline into an abject and servile condition in which the equal rights they now enjoy could easily be bought or wrested from them. The high standard of living, therefore, which prevails among American workingmen is nothing less than essential to the maintenance of political liberty. But high wages cannot, under the pressure of the world market, be maintained without a high degree of skill. And it is the business of manual training in the school to impart such skill.

Manual training injects intelligence into labor, and, at the same time, it develops the taste and enhances the perception and appreciation of the beautiful. Thus it may become the means of liberalizing instead of stupefying the nature of the worker. The conception of the artist-artisan is in all essentials that of a cultivated man, of a man who derives incentives toward self-culture from the very work in which he is engaged.

But I have ventured to claim that manual training should be a characteristic feature of democratic education in general. Does then the value of manual training apply only to the working class? Or does it extend to all the citizens? I say unhesitatingly to all the citizens, no matter what their future avocations may be. On educational grounds pure and simple we desire that it be introduced and maintained in the public schools. And the reasons on which this claim may be based are the following. In the first place, a truth has been brought to light in modern times which deserves to rank as a veritable discovery in the field of education, namely, that there exists in our schools a large body of pupils who are deficient on what may be called the literary

side, who experience great difficulty in acquiring the three R's, Reading, Writing and Arithmetic, and who had hitherto been set down as dunces; it has been discovered that these pupils are not unintelligent; that their intelligence merely does not respond to the ordinary methods of literary teaching; while it does respond—often with astonishing alacrity and vigor—to the scientific and manual method of teaching. Give such apparently hopeless scholars the chance of observing the structure of plants and animals; conduct them into the school workshop and set them at work with hammer and saw, or at the lathe, and at once their whole nature seems to undergo a transformation. The eyes sparkle, and listless and apathetic as they were before, they are now all aglow with the intense, pleasurable excitement of intellectual activity. Manual labor seems to call out in them the power of judgment, of discrimination and reflection. And these powers, once having been set in operation, may be easily strengthened in such a way that the pupils can be built up, even on the literary side, in regard to which their natural endowment is really deficient. There are two gateways that lead into the Temple of Knowledge where it had hitherto been supposed that there is only one. One is the Gate of Letters. The other is the Gate of Labor. Those who cannot enter by the former can be helped to enter by the latter. That this is so is the discovery to which I have alluded, whereby the present age has signalized itself in educational history, and on account of which it will be remembered with honor.

But manual training has also a profoundly moral effect upon the pupils, and is a new and splendid instrument for strengthening the will. The will is that one of our faculties which is employed in the adaptation of means to ends. Now all manual work whatsoever consists in nothing else than the adaptation of means to ends. Take the making of a wooden box as a simple instance. There is one main end in view, and subordinate to this a series of minor ends. And each of these minor ends again has subsidiary means subordinate to itself. The pupil who conscientiously performs the work of making a wooden box gains invaluable practice in industry, application, perseverance, and all these habits re-act upon his moral nature. He has gained an invaluable practice in the orderly adaptation of means to ends and thereby his will power is strengthened. He has also learned to exercise the faculty of consecutive thinking, which some minds acquire by pursuing effects to their causes, and others, of different mental constitution, can

gain better by following means forward to their ends. And this faculty of consecutive thinking is one of the strongest safeguards against vice. For much of the vice of the world, as phrenologists will tell you, is due to mental incoherency, to the inability on the part of the criminally disposed to hold in view the remote consequences of their acts. Could they foresee those consequences they would generally be impelled to restrain themselves and to resist. Thus manual training, which arranges the thoughts of the pupil in a series, which connects them with one another as links in a chain, is a means of strengthening the armor of virtue. And that this is not a mere theory in the air is proved by the records of our reformatory institutions where manual training has been introduced, and has been found to be one of the most powerful and trustworthy instruments of the moral reformation of the young. And I hold that that which is capable of rescuing even those who have already fallen a prey to temptation, will all the more protect those who are weak but have not yet succumbed; and that manual training, if generally introduced in our schools, will be the means of eradicating the germs of vice before they have had time to sprout.

I have endeavored briefly to describe the benefits which manual training confers on the artisan class, and on pupils who are deficient on the literary side and must enter the Temple of Knowledge by the Gate of Labor—and such pupils we find in all social classes, the highest as well as the lowest. Finally, it remains to say that manual training is of the greatest value even to those who are not artisans, who are not deficient on the literary side—to the future statesmen, clergymen, lawyers, writers, physicians, etc. And this on grounds of harmonious culture, on the ground that manual training develops a very important side of their nature which their future profession is not likely to call into play and which, without the help of deliberate efforts in early youth, would remain altogether neglected and stunted. That human beings should receive an all-round culture; that every latent faculty should be exercised; that every string on the human harp should be rightly attuned, is an axiom of modern pedagogics. And that particular string which manual training is calculated to bring into tune cannot be omitted without seriously impairing the harmony of the whole. Yes, it is all the more necessary that those who are destined in later life to work with the brain should, at least, in childhood be taught to work with their hands, because our modern civilization is in danger of becoming top-

heavy, because we are turning out too many bookish men, too many men who have lost contact with the natural basis of life and get such knowledge as they have at second or third hand. In the savage state man is forced to wrestle with nature. He pursues the chase in order to obtain the means of subsistence. He is forced to endure hunger and cold, to sleep under the open sky and to cultivate physical strength in order that, in his conflicts with wild beasts and with his fellowmen, he may survive in the struggle for existence. The civilized man no longer finds it necessary to have recourse to the same means for obtaining his food. But civilized men, nevertheless, follow the chase for the sake of the exercise which it gives. And our young men at college practise athletics or camp for weeks in the wilderness that they may learn how to help themselves, if need be, that they may not forfeit that sense of mastery over Nature which comes of being compelled to wrest the primal necessities of human life from the grudging hands of Nature. But the mastery of man over matter does not depend merely on brute physical strength, but on that spiritualized strength which we call skill. Man is, above all else, a tool-using animal. By means of tools he succeeds in impressing the forms of mind upon matter, and thus subjects dull matter to his rule and makes it subservient to his purposes. And this, too, is a power which we must not lose, and the less we require it for practical ends the more we must practise it as a kind of gymnastic exercise. And manual training is well calculated to assure us in the possession of this power—the power of impressing the forms of mind upon matter.

It has been said by some that manual training is a fad. But what is a "fad?" It may be a mere temporary hobby, a whim, a conceit, a trifling matter. But it may also be a weighty and important matter imperfectly apprehended. And in this sense everything great and good may be treated as a fad. Religion may degenerate into a fad. It does so often. Patriotism may become a fad. Science may be a fad. And so manual training, too, may become nothing better than a fad. It all depends upon the degree of earnestness with which it is pursued, upon the depth to which its meaning is searched out.

Let me then repeat at the end the truth which I stated at the beginning, namely, that the educational system of any country should be shaped to harmonize with the political institutions of that country. I have endeavored to show that this holds good of America, and have formulated more especially three demands which our educational system should

be required to fulfil. In the first place, the methods required for all branches of instruction should be such as not to load the memory but to quicken the intelligence; so that the common people, who in the last analysis decide all the questions of policy, shall be fitted to act as a jury; not to possess expert knowledge—that would be impossible; but to weigh the evidence presented by experts and to arrive at sound conclusions. Secondly, I have formulated the demand that our educational system should contain provision for moral instruction, and that in this course of moral instruction special stress should be laid on the civic duties, that the ideal of the state should be restored to its proper rank in the hierarchy of ethical conceptions from which the deplorable incivism of the past has dethroned it. Lastly, I have pointed out that the cardinal difference between the ancient republics and our own consists in this that, while in the ancient republics the class of manual laborers was excluded from the bond of citizenship as incapable of participating in the fruits of culture, the American Republic finds its centre of gravity among the laboring classes and its highest function is to lead them more and more to the attainment of the best life. That manual training is an indispensable aid in the pursuit of this end I have tried to make plain. Manual training is the means of liberating the spiritual elements which are latent in labor itself. Manual labor should be not the heavy metallic base of the Lamp of Culture, but itself a lamp translucent to the light within.

SOCIAL SCIENCE IN LIBERAL EDUCATION.

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In the brief remarks which I make as chairman of this section, it is less my purpose to contribute any substantive part to the discussions of the day, than to give formal notice that such discussions are about to begin. It has seemed to me that in performing this humble office, I might not inappropriately draw your attention to the peculiar fitness of sociological studies for place in a liberal curriculum.

Permit me then to touch, for I can do no more, (1) upon the interest which educators as such should have in the use of sociology as pedagogical material, and (2) upon the interest which all humanity should feel in having sociology employed in that way.

One of the great benefits sure to be derived from careful thought upon social themes is discipline of mind. There are branches of sociology which no other sort of learning whatever can excel or perhaps equal in this regard. Economics I believe to be one of these. It certainly surpasses all other studies in the combination which it involves of mental discipline with practical utility; but in respect to disciplinary quality alone, nearly the same is true. Its most ordinary propositions test one's thinking power. Its deeper reasonings put this power to the proof as severely as anything in the mathematics.

Many persons seem to suppose that the value for purposes of discipline attaching to any branch of learning is great in proportion as that branch approximates the character of an exact science. This I deem a great mistake. The stoutest mentality is not attainable by drill in the exact sciences. In due measure such drill is important, but it is often carried relatively too far. Not only do action, conduct, life, all lie in the domain of inexact science, making training in this indispensable to every educated man, but it is a higher attainment, a finer feat of mind, even from the point of view of mental gymnastics, to be expert in the inexact than in the exact sciences.

The gymnasial worth of sociological study is much greater than a casual observer would suppose. Such a zest is nearly always caught from close acquaintance with social subjects, that many overlook the really intricate problems connected with them. That every pupil is sure to possess beforehand a certain familiarity with such matters is, in fact, one of the chief obstacles to thoroughness in discussing them, leading to slovenly analysis and general looseness of mental grasp. Students suppose themselves thinking the correct thoughts because they attach a more or less definite meaning to the words. From this cause comes most of the sciolism so common among persons not students at all, who yet discuss "Poverty," "Crime," "Wages," and whatever other social topic is named by a familiar title, with all the assurance of a Stuart Mill. But let any man who can truly think study with care into any of the severer problems confronting the connoisseur of the social world, such as the causes of pauperism or of crime, or the methods of preventing or ameliorating either, provided he pushes every analysis to its ultimate statement, and works out the most important practical implications of the principles thus unearthed, he will find the result nothing short of an intellectual renaissance.

There is a peculiarity to this sort of discipline which is not to be encountered anywhere outside of sociology. It resides in a certain mutual relativity of the data, which renders them elusive to the mind. It is hard to fix the basis of agreement between different disputants, or even the point of departure for the thinker's own thought. Often premises can be rendered definite only by a piece of abstraction, which the course of subsequent reasoning shows to have been more or less incorrect. The reasoner has then to go back and amend his premises, re-thinking every step of his work with scrutiny, to see whether, and if so where and how, the rectification of his premises has vitiated it. No other sort of exercise will induce mental wariness or build up mental muscle like this.

For the majority of students, the practical character of sociological study is in educational importance quite as great as its power as a mere strengthener of mind. The main teachings of social science are a part of the information which ought to be at every intelligent citizen's command. Most of these truths somewhere, somehow touch every human life, and touch it vitally. They have to do with nearly everything concerning which human beings can become interested. The structure of society, the laws of its growth, the nature and uses of

wealth, the importance of true charity, the curse of indiscriminate alms, the inevitable dependence of individuals, classes and nations upon one another—if any facts in any realm whatever can insist upon place in a man's mental stores as a condition of his right to call himself educated, these are such facts.

No one will maintain that the mere learning of data, however important, occupies the foremost place in education. The opening and edification of the mind is the grand aim. But let us on the other hand avoid the error, which is so common, of supposing that information of the kind just referred to is incompatible with the truest edification. Abstract conceptions of course often give the mind fruitful play. This is because they stand to one another in certain rational relations which we apprehend. But exactly so do concrete realities stand, facts of spirit and life, the things which come home to our business and bosoms. Granted that to drill the mind is more than to fill the mind, were the two opposed to one another so that they must be realized separately, yet if any line of study can unite them and bring to pass the two invaluable results at one and the same time, in such wise that each end is compassed so much the better because the other is compassed with it, the species of study making possible such a conjunction is thereby singled out as of surpassing importance.

The data of social science are not practical alone: they are interesting as well. These two qualities do not always go together; but here the union is complete. Social science is the scrutiny of man, and of man upon his most important side. It is a dealing with life. It is the study of history brought down to date, to the point where history is making. This lends to such investigations a matchless warmth. Well-taught university classes in sociology are always full. The instructor cannot well be dull, but even if he should be so, the subject is not, and will not let the pupils sleep.

This relish with which most pursue our science gives it an extraordinary fitness for service in education. Exploded, I hope forever, is the idea that the specially useful lessons are the ones to which we have to drag ourselves with the greatest effort of will. With most of us there are such subjects, to which, in spite of their dreariness, we have to attend; but they need not constitute the bulk of the curriculum. This utilization of interest in study is what makes the elective system so popular in modern higher education, and what makes it, when duly guarded, so advantageous.

But sociology has a strong claim upon educational work aside from both its high character as a drill study and its practical usefulness in each student's life. If no part of what has already been said were true; if social studies had but the feeblest grit as mental whetstones, and if students found them insipid and inane instead of enticing, there would still remain a weighty reason for installing them in every college and university in the world where they could be taught fairly well, provided students could be induced to pursue them. Such a consideration is this: that the futherance of social science is absolutely necessary to the promotion of human welfare, and that no science can healthily or lustily grow save as the elements of it and interest in it get wide dissemination by means of instruction in learned institutions.

It were superfluous before this audience to enlarge upon the indispensableness of social science to social advancement. We are already convinced upon the point. But for this we should not be here. In the growth of social science lies the philanthropist's main hope.

At present, certainly, social conditions are forbidding enough. Witness the increase of crime and of the criminal class, the ease of divorce, endangering the marriage relation and the home, the shocking injustice involved in our chaos of laws upon taxation, the spread and deepening of poverty and the almost equally lamentable congestion of individuals' wealth, the shames of politics and legislation, the crimes, legal and illegal, of corporations, the popularity and sweep of gambling operations, the robbery and misery entailed by our monetary system, producing now a rise and now a fall in general prices, the one scaling down all outstanding debts and wronging the creditors, the other augmenting debts and swindling debtors. Even worse than these distressing facts is the distressing fact that the wisest of men at present have but guesses touching means of ameliorating them. Generally speaking, there is good will enough. Men and women of unselfish spirit stand ready in crowds, so soon as the wisdom for their proper guidance shall be revealed, for whatever missionary work may be necessary to the betterment of their communities. One surveying the social woes of today, and withal the blindness of the wisest regarding them, would be driven to pessimism instantly were there not hope that light upon these subjects must sooner or later break forth, showing us the sure paths of reform.

There is but one point in the heavens whence such light can be expected to spring. It is the development of true social science. It is

adequate knowledge of the phenomena, and especially of the principles, pertaining to human nature and society. This is, indeed, the only hope, but it is a sufficient hope. As I have elsewhere remarked: "Till yesterday, no study worthy the name was ever devoted to social science. What if the best minds of another century—the Darwins, the Huxleys, the Tyndalls, the Faradays, the Helmholtzes, the Siemenses—shall give themselves up to social science, as those of the last have done to physical? In such an event, of which there is no small probability, great progress cannot but come."*

I beg leave to emphasize the observation that what we need is the spread of *true* social science, through investigations going far beneath the surface, through rank grasp on principles, through generalizations patient, phlegmatic and slow.

Sociology, or many a phase thereof, is now undergoing two sorts of treatment from which relatively little can be hoped. One is the mere phenomenological, which brings to light data, revealing how men act, think and live, but does not delve among causes, and either does not generalize at all or does this hastily and superficially. Such studies have their value. They pave the way for succeeding students, whom they enable to travel farther. They open a first furrow along the field and invite the subsoil plough. But themselves decide nothing, finish nothing; and such as rest in them, if by way of euphemism called social scientists, are not the men who are going to lift or lead society to a higher level.

The other treatment of social questions which is of but little use, is the hysterical. This commonly betrays a kind heart, and the many instances of it in every direction furnish welcome proof of the wide philanthropical interest now prevalent. That is about all one can say for this species of agitation. Usually, it sets out to apply sociology without having any to apply, like the man appointed receiver of a bank, who, on arriving at the bank, found nothing to receive. To this category belong those who indiscriminately urge charity as a relief for poverty, those who expect to cure intemperance by exhortation and the pledge, those who would relieve us of tramps by supporting charity woodyards where tramps may saw wood for their board, and those who propose to banish sweaters from New York and Chicago by preaching a general boycott against sweater-made goods. It would be easy to show

*International Journal of Ethics, April, 1892, p. 288.

how each of these devices must fail of its end, even if it does not, as often occurs, introduce new evils as bad as those which it is designed to suppress; but there is no need of such demonstration.

What is required is cool, careful, circumspect investigation, cognizant and heedful of ethical laws, of economic laws, and of human nature in its entirety.

It remains only to point out the dependence of social science for large and right evolution on the wide teaching and pursuit of it in institutions of highest learning. Not that all the actual investigation which is needed will be carried on by professors or their pupils, for much of this will fall to other heads and hands. Also, schools are not necessary to supply moral interest in social problems, or even the ordinary sort of mental interest. In these ways, upon these levels, people have always been awake to the pains and disorder afflicting the social body.

What upper schooling can supply and what upper schooling must supply is, first, adequately wide and intense interest in social problems as problems, deep and tough, due willingness on the part of many to study them and help others to do this, persistent interest, that shall neither fume nor flag because solutions are delayed, but maintain itself, long-winded, through evil report and good report, keeping up the *prudens quaestio* to our intricate human nature, till at last the world-happifying answer is evoked. For this form of interest in social matters we must look to our schools.

Another thing which upper schooling can and must supply is logical method for the successful guidance of those profound and persistent investigations. Orderly thought is mainly, almost solely, the direct or indirect product of university or collegiate discipline. There is not, I believe, a single case where a body of facts has taken on the character of a science, all its inductions verified so that men could turn around and confidently apply its principles *a priori* in ascertaining concrete facts and in the affairs of life—I think that no such rise of a science has ever occurred, which has not been first made possible and then presided over by systematic school teaching and training. Nearly all the great advances in practical industry, which make goods cheaper and life happier, depend upon principles which have been carefully wrought out in the study or the laboratory. Edison could have done little but for the science of physics, which less practical men, most of them pedagogues, elaborated and made ready for his use. Physics, in turn, depends at every step upon the higher mathematics, which few cultivate outside of

Schools. Bi-chloride of mercury, which has given to recent surgery its glorious successes, and which in medicine has taken the main terrors from that once awful disease, diphtheria, is an invention from the chemical laboratory. Striking is the case of Germany, which manufactures 83 per cent. of all the chemicals used on the continent of Europe, because of the chemical discoveries made and the knowledge of chemistry diffused among her people through the agency of her universities. It is for lack of chemical knowledge of clays that America makes no such porcelain as Germany or Austria, and the same lack wastes for us every year millions of dollars worth of materials and labor in such third or fourth class pottery as we do make. In this way all mankind's material interests, of which the thoughtless incessantly speak as if organized mentality had no part or lot in them, ultimately depend on the pedagogue and his pupils. The fool or the pessimist may deem it an indifferent matter whether school keeps or not; but he who believes in truth and its discovery, or in human weal and its advance, must infinitely prefer that school should keep.

If you ask, then, the reasons for our zeal in introducing courses of sociological instruction into institutions of high learning and in perfecting them there, we reply, first, that such instruction is an invaluable, almost incomparable, means of mental training, largely, though not solely, because of the practical interest attaching to it; and we reply, secondly, that sociology must be widely taught in schools if it is to develop, and that it must develop or civilization is a failure.

PAUPERISM IN THE LIGHT OF THE THEORY OF NATURAL SELECTION.

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The results of biological science must in the long run contribute a great deal toward the solution of social problems. But there is a strong temptation to apply biological theories in the new and more complex sphere of human society without sufficient care and discrimination. The phrases "struggle for existence" and "survival of the fittest" are apt to be taken as if they were applicable in sociology, without a careful preliminary examination of the character of the "struggle" among human beings and of the various meanings we attach to the term "fittest." If any one, for instance, protests against too much being done for "paupers," on the ground that those who have fallen into this class have so fallen through the operation of natural selection, we must remind him, (1) that among the elements in the selecting process there are several which are directly or indirectly due to human institutions, and not to the operation of merely "natural" causes; and (2) that, whereas natural selection among the lower animals works by continually killing off the individuals less fitted for the conditions in which they have to live, the natural selection which allows some men to get on in the world and brings others down into the pauper class does not in civilized societies kill the latter off nor prevent them propagating themselves.

A pauper class may, for our present purpose, be defined generally as a class kept alive either by private charity (including the charity of religious and philanthropic bodies) or by the action of the state (as in the case of the English Poor Law). Some persons, recognizing the detriment done to the race by the survival of the unfit, have proposed the abolition of all state relief of the poor. But this remedy would be perfectly ineffectual, unless all private charity could at the same time be prohibited, or controlled by scientific experts—not merely the charity

of quasi-public bodies, such as religious or philanthropic societies, but the charity of individuals in their private capacity, and the kindly indulgence of benevolent uncles and aunts towards "ne'er do weel" relatives. "Individualist" opponents of state action for the relief of suffering are apt to forget that natural selection would not operate fairly among human beings, unless all inheritance of property were abolished. A family of inefficient persons maintained solely by the proceeds of what some clever or lucky ancestor managed to accumulate are as much paupers from the scientific point of view, as if they were living in an almshouse. Their "family" has been successful, it is true; but under a firmly established system of legal rights, a successful *family* may come to consist entirely of *individuals* who are extremely inefficient or even injurious members of the social organism. The system of trusts prevents the spendthrift from "going to the dogs" with his natural rapidity; and the watchfulness of relatives or the existence of effective prohibitory liquor legislation may keep the hereditary drunkard alive to transmit to descendants a diseased nervous system which will show itself in other ways.

Past experience seems to prove that the worst evils of pauperism are produced by irresponsible "charity" and not by systematic state relief. Every one in England knows how cathedral cities, which often possess ancient charitable endowments, are apt to become nests of pauperism. Italian social reformers, alive to the mischief of almsgiving and of religious endowments, look with envy and admiration at the English poor law system, which is often so severely criticized in its own country. A strict administration of the Poor Law, with refusal of outdoor relief and separation of the sexes, except among the aged, in the workhouses, has at least the advantage over private charity of putting some check on the propagation of the pauper class. It is coming to be recognized in England that one of the chief difficulties arises from the intermittent pauper, *e. g.*, the inefficient and unskilled laborer who gets odd jobs during the summer and returns to the workhouse in winter, or the often half imbecile woman who comes back to the workhouse infirmary from time to time to give birth to an illegitimate child of doubtful paternity. The old English poor law system with abundant outdoor relief and grants in aid of wages was to a great extent an institution for increasing pauperism. The abolition of all interference with the cruel process of natural selection being out of the question in societies that have become civilized and that are affected by Christian traditions of phil-

anthropy, the only rational alternative is to make public action more systematic, less wasteful, more scientific than it has been.

It is of essential importance to distinguish the causes of pauperism and consequently to differentiate the various classes of paupers. I think we may profitably distinguish three main types, though in practice there will be many cases difficult to classify with precision. Let me call them, (I) Paupers by heredity, (II) Paupers by education, (III) Paupers by accident.

(I). Undoubtedly a large number of those who become dependent on their more successful relatives, on private charity or on public funds, are those who suffer from some hereditary defect of physique, of intellect, or of character. If a society is not to degenerate, it must do something to replace the check of natural selection on the multiplication of these persons, *i. e.*, we must substitute a rational artificial selection for the natural selection which civilization has to a great extent suspended or diverted into injurious channels. Any such suggestion is generally met by the assertion that it is impossible; that the attempt systematically to improve the breed of citizens cannot be tried outside of Plato's ideal commonwealth, and that it is contrary to modern ideas to interfere with individual liberty in such a sacred matter as the relations of the sexes. The fatal objection to this assertion is that at present in every civilized society both law and public opinion do interfere very constantly with individual liberty in such matters, sometimes, doubtless, in a wise, and sometimes in a very unwise way. Thus the law prohibits marriage within certain degrees of affinity, it brands as illegitimate the children born outside of the particular marriage relations which alone it sanctions, it allows judicial separations on certain grounds, with or without liberty of remarriage, &c. In some countries the consent of parents is required, or proof of ability to maintain a family, as a prerequisite to a legal marriage. Apart from the law, the opinions of those who can usually most influence the motives of individuals in such matters interfere with liberty of action in manifold ways. Considerations of family connections, of wealth, of religious belief, and occasionally considerations of character and of health operate as deterrents from what are regarded as unsuitable marriages. It should be noted, however, that many of the legal and social deterrents from marriage contribute somewhat to increase the number of illegitimate births. Among the middle classes, in the majority of cases, a certain amount of success in business and the practice of life

insurance supply a certain rough minimum test of fitness for parentage, so far as *men* are concerned. Only let the prevalent ideas of fitness and unfitness become more rational and be extended to both sexes alike, *i. e.*, let the definition of a *mésalliance* become scientific, and we should have the force of social opinion supplying a means towards checking deterioration of race. Unfortunately, however, social opinion of such a kind only acts on those already possessed of a certain amount of prudence and forethought, that is to say, it operates almost inversely to the need of it. (It should be noted that, whilst natural selection operates with less restriction, by killing off the less vigorous children, among the poor than among the well to do, the social, *i. e.*, artificial, checks on parentage operate least of all, precisely in the most helpless stratum of the population.) Such social opinion among the more intelligent and energetic members of a nation may, however, supply a sufficient leverage to get the pressure of law to bear upon those who would not be affected by any milder force; that is, legislation might amend the table of prohibited degrees, the definition of illegitimacy, the grounds for divorce, the causes justifying detention in asylums, &c., so that hereditary disease, hereditary insanity, hereditary criminality might gradually become rarer and rarer. The effect of such laws, if they were once carried and were steadily enforced, would in turn lead to the further growth of a rational public opinion on the subject of parentage. The proposal may seem startling, and probably only a small minimum of reform could at first be obtained in any country in the near future. To require a medical certificate of absence of insanity as a prerequisite to legal marriage may be suggested as a safe beginning; it would accustom people to the idea of some scientific test. No very great alteration of existing laws is, indeed, likely to be made, so long as the average religious and ethical opinion sanctions or condemns parentage solely according as it is preceded by a religious ceremony or not, and whilst so many of those who consider themselves "advanced thinkers" and "social reformers" entertain so much hostility towards the medical profession as advisers of any legislation that seems to interfere with the individual liberty of spreading disease.

(II.) A very large number of paupers, however, are "not born but made" by unfortunate surroundings. If the biological theory of heredity which denies the transmission of acquired characters should prove to be the true one, it is often supposed that the possibility of social progress is rendered doubtful. I do not think that there is any

reason for such dependency, but the reverse. It would follow, indeed, that we could not trust to the physical, intellectual and moral improvement of any generation *by itself* improving the race; but on the other hand it would also follow that the defects of the parents, so far as these were acquired and not inherited, would not *necessarily* be transmitted. If the children of the pauper can be brought up, away from paupers of the hereditary type just described, in healthy surroundings physical and moral, they will escape from all mischief which is due simply to the bad surroundings of the parents. On the theory that acquired characters are not transmitted, the treatment of pauper children becomes a far more important, and a far more hopeful, social problem. Many countries, it seems to me, do not do as much as they might to encourage the practice of adoption. If, as is the case in Great Britain, the parent, however unfit to have control of the child, may demand to have it back just when it has been educated by others and made capable of earning money, there is too little inducement to undertake the genuinely philanthropic task of turning pauper children into useful citizens.

(III.) A considerable number of paupers are, under the conditions of our existing type of civilization, paupers by no fault of their own. A commercial crisis, a change in fashion, causing the decline or disappearance of an industry, accidents, sickness may bring down a family from the self-supporting into the pauper class, and it does not necessarily follow that they represent an inferior stock to that of those who have risen to prosperity through the reverse causes; a rise in general prosperity, the introduction of new industries, improved sanitation may pull up some of the very same type. There are, of course, very capable individuals who seem to struggle to the front somehow, though such struggles may be at a great cost of life and sometimes of character, just as there are incapable individuals whom nothing seems to help. But the average human being is neither the very capable nor the very incapable. A remedy for this third cause of pauperism can be found only in greater stability of economic conditions. This opens up very wide problems. Apart from any big schemes of social reconstruction, a system of compulsory insurance, old age pensions, systematic provision of hospitals as public, rate-supported, *not* "charitable" institutions, benefit societies on a sound financial basis, and all such measures of non-pauperizing help offer the best hopes of keeping our poorhouses free of individuals and families who should never be classed with the hopeless paupers of

the first type nor with the unfortunate members of the second class, who have lived in a tainted atmosphere from the first.

What I have said is but a rough outline attempt to show how the problem of pauperism presents itself when we look at it in the light of the theory of natural selection—I should rather say, of “artificial selection”; for, as I have pointed out, under the conditions of civilization, natural selection is not operating as among the lower animals, and almost all our selection, conscious or unconscious, wise or foolish, is “artificial.” My suggestions would, I fear, require much explanation and illustration to make them seem less arbitrary and dogmatic. But I have felt it necessary to be brief; and I trust that my paper may at least supply some material for reflection and discussion to those who are ready to face social problems with the seriousness, the impartiality and the fearlessness of science.

THE NEED OF TRAINING SCHOOLS FOR A NEW PROFESSION.

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It is hardly fitting that the time of an International Congress like this should be occupied with the details of charity organization, details which must necessarily be to some extent local in their character. It is obvious that the problems of administration which beset us in America can hardly be the problems which beset English philanthropists, much less those of Germany or Italy. Indeed, to go farther than this, it is a question whether the problems that are current in Massachusetts are in any degree the problems of Colorado or California, or even, it may be, of Illinois. But a certain difficulty which we are experiencing every day in New England seems to me to be a difficulty inseparable from the growth and extension of the methods of scientific charity, and so everywhere existent. And therefore, although it is perhaps a minor question in the survey of the whole field, I have ventured to ask you to consider it for a very brief time, that we may get the benefit of your wisdom upon it, and that, if you will, the great influence of this body may be given in favor of some solution of the problem. For it is not my intention to suggest a solution at this time, but simply to bring before you the need, the difficulty of meeting it, and the nature of the remedy required, that others wiser than I may discover how the end shall be accomplished. The only purpose of this paper is to suggest a difficulty in the hope of awakening discussion.

As the plan of charity organization extends beyond the large cities into the smaller cities and towns, and as it is hoped to carry some modification of its methods even into the small villages, we are met with the difficulty of procuring suitable men or women as secretaries or superintendents of the work. This amounts to an impossibility. It is unnecessary to say to anyone of experience in these matters, that practically the whole success of the undertaking depends upon the officer who administers its affairs, whether known as superintendent or secretary, and whether man or woman. In the larger towns and small cities where

the difficulty of finding such persons is now so great as to become prohibitive against the whole plan, the requirements are peculiar to the situation. In such places charity organization is still on trial and therefore must produce more tangible results and be able to meet more objections than in those large cities where its need and value is already acknowledged. The scheme itself must, I think, be modified somewhat also, to suit the situation. It must include, under an organic whole of some kind, all or almost all of the charities of the town, to whose various boards of managers the superintendent must bear some direct relations. He must be personally competent to carry forward and superintend the work of his board of visitors, and sufficiently acquainted with charity organization methods to do this according to approved principles. To avoid the multiplication of agencies it is necessary, I believe, that such associations should distribute some small measure of actual charity, and to this end the superintendent needs to be a man of quick and ready sympathy and some tact in dealing with poverty, both just and unjust.

It is highly desirable also, as all who know the situation will bear me witness, that he should be able to present his cause at public meetings, and it is here that the masculine pronoun becomes specific. Except in special cases a man has more influence and carries more weight with the business men of the town in presenting matters of charity and public welfare than a woman. I do not discuss the reasons for this, nor its justice; I simply state it as a fact, and I think it cannot be disputed. I must say I have found it hard not to be converted from this position in the presence of Miss Zilpha Smith and other able women present here. Nevertheless, in the towns I know most about the statement is true; and I believe it to be true in many of our cities—perhaps most of them. But I will not at this time enter upon the question of the methods of charity organization and kindred societies in small places, nor the question whether its agents should be men or women. However you manage the society, and whoever manages it, the point I wish to make remains the same, and that is the necessity of a competent superintendent. The services of such a superintendent as I have outlined, varied and difficult as they are, must be secured for a salary ranging from seven hundred to one thousand dollars a year. Again I do not discuss the justice of this situation, I simply state a fact. You cannot procure the money to pay such an officer a larger salary than this,

at least in the East. It is a question perhaps whether the salary is so inadequate as it seems. Clerks of all kinds, book-keepers, cashiers, teachers, secretaries average about this amount, and too many ministers get but little more. So long as this is true, you cannot induce the community to believe that the administration of charity is not extravagant when it costs more than this, while so many men and women are securing no larger sums.

The position is open, therefore, to two classes of persons,—that large class of able and efficient young men and women who, without other than a public school education, are satisfied, at least temporarily, with such a salary as I have named; and that other class who from a missionary impulse put better education and larger capacity at the service of the public, for only such remuneration as will furnish them a not too abundant livelihood. This class is happily growing more and more numerous every day as the zeal for humanity and the better understanding of religion increases among us. The claims of the poor in our cities and towns are being felt, and they are making a loud call to our generous minded young men and women—a call not unheeded. But this call is only just beginning to be heard. In talking of this matter not long ago, a well known student of the new sociology said to me, "I have known a good many young men and women, devoted and intelligent, who went into the foreign mission field principally, so far as I could judge, because that seemed to be the only recognized variety of special service with which they were acquainted." And he went on to dwell upon the difficulty of getting an intelligent physician to inspect babies for a board of children's guardians lately created in a large city.

Now whether you look in the ranks of the wage-earner or the philanthropist, it is to-day impossible to get a suitable superintendent of charities for a city of fifteen or twenty thousand inhabitants (or even a larger city), because no one knows anything about how to carry on the work. The wage-earner knows absolutely nothing of scientific charity. He has never heard of "friendly visitors"; he knows nothing of the merits or demerits of outdoor relief; boys' clubs have no attractions for him, and he fails lamentably in the effort to manage them; prison reform is so far an unknown language that he has no ideas as to discharged prisoners or probationers; and night lodging houses and wood-yards are equally beyond his ken. Charity is so little of a science to him that he can neither understand the idea himself, nor force it into

the mind of an unwilling public. On the other hand, the young man of missionary impulses has his head full of the science, but his opportunities for the practice of the art have been too meagre for valuable results. He has no experience on which to draw for the detection of fraud, he has no knowledge of the practical difficulties of administration which will confront him in a community unsympathetic, and unwilling to contribute for the support of a charity which has no visible results, and skeptical of the need of anything beyond the usual public relief or different from it.

And yet, as I have said, the whole question of the success or failure of charity organization depends upon the discovery of some individual who adds to knowledge wisdom, and combines with right theory some experience. In the cities of New London and Norwich such work is carried on with amazing success, because somewhere, somehow, they were fortunate enough to discover suitable men to consent to take the place of secretary. I know some larger cities where this work fluctuates between success and failure because of the difficulty of finding such a person. I know two flourishing cities, one of forty or fifty thousand inhabitants and one of eighteen thousand, in each of which a charity organization society, or practically that, of long standing and years of success is now declining rapidly or seems to be on the verge of death because of the utter impossibility, after a long trial, of finding a new superintendent. In one of these cases, with which I am too sadly familiar, the association commenced with a superintendent of rare qualities, but without training in the work, which lack was supplied by a great interest. But when circumstances obliged him to leave the place, it appeared that no one could be found to fill it. A superintendent of a New York mission, a local philanthropist, a benevolent woman, a Young Men's Christian Association secretary, all proved to be without the technical knowledge necessary for such work. Inquiry among a large number of experts in Boston, New York and elsewhere failed to bring any help. One and all replied, "We could find places for a dozen such men to-day if we could find the men." I have made a hasty study of the very valuable report read before this Congress by Mr. C. D. Kellogg and find that both his statistics and his counsels confirm my belief. He tells us of twenty-two charity organization societies in 1882, and eleven affiliated societies. Of these thirty-three societies, only nine were in cities of over twenty thousand inhabitants. Thirteen societies had already lapsed, and of these, seven were in these small cities. In

1892 the number of charity organization societies alone had increased to ninety-two with no mention of affiliated societies, and this growth was almost altogether in the large cities, for, so far as I could judge in my hasty examination (no statistics of population for 1892 are given), out of the seventy new societies no more than twelve are in the towns and small cities. These figures are very suggestive, and the conclusions drawn by so learned and able an expert are no less so. In speaking of the lapsed societies, Mr. Kellogg says: "Probably the lack of trained and capable superintendents and of suitable friendly visitors is the chief cause of miscarriage, for where a society has been able to command these and to put them in control of its work, it has taken root and won support to its standards." And again he says of certain particular societies that "the employment of a paid and expert superintendent has been found to put an end to feebleness and inefficiency."

I am convinced that it is not so much lack of willing individuals as entire lack of opportunity for training that is the real trouble. For no matter how much a man may wish to go into this work, there is no place where he can learn its duties. Our theological seminaries have (some of them) chairs of sociology, but he is not a minister in any sense of the word. It is time that our colleges and universities were turning their attention more and more to this branch of the humanities. Mr. Kellogg tells us of eleven colleges and universities with such chairs, and I notice in a morning paper that out of six essays read yesterday at the Vassar commencement one was on charity and one on prisons. But they produce students of the science, men ready to teach it, to investigate its laws, but much too widely educated to take administrative places of the character I have outlined, except in the large cities, and much too expensively educated for such salaries as are possible elsewhere. Moreover, these men are not educated in details—that is the business of a professional school; and to a certain extent they are, in the nature of the case, educated away from the people, rather than taught new points of contact with them. A class of larger and more important places has already arisen directly suited to college-bred men and women, and rapidly filling up with such students, as we have evidence before us; but it is not my purpose to dwell upon these places, nor am I concerned with the work of the college settlements, which belongs, as that work has been conceived, primarily and chiefly to the scientific study of the social problem.

The Young Men's Christian Association, seeing its own similar need, has established a school in Springfield, Massachusetts, where their secretaries are specially educated for their work, and in that school instruction is also given in the work of pastor's assistant, and Sunday school superintendent, and other similar offices. But this school is distinctly religious in its methods, and to some extent evangelistic in its character, as indeed comports with its avowed object. And this is the case also with the training school established by Mr. Moody in Chicago, and with all such schools or courses that have yet been established, so far as I am aware. And this does not meet the need of charity organization societies. Their work, although founded on religion and thoroughly religious in its character, is distinctly not religious in its methods. It is conceived on different lines, and maintained by persons of many different religious beliefs or none at all. Training in the science and methods of religious work does not give the knowledge or experience necessary for this particular work. I will not detain you with the statistics which would compare the amount of time, money and organization spent in training religious workers of the various kinds, and the amount which is, let me say, *not* spent in training workers for benevolent organization at home.

What is needed, it seems to me, is some course of study where an intelligent young person can add to an ordinary education such branches as may be necessary for this purpose, with a general view of those special studies in political and social science which are most closely connected with the problem of poverty; and where both he and his associate, already learned in the study of books, can be taught what is now the alphabet of charitable science—some knowledge of its underlying ideas, its tried and trusted methods, and some acquaintance with the various devices employed for the upbuilding of the needy, so that no philanthropic undertaking, from a model tenement-house to a kindergarten or a sand heap, will be altogether strange to his mind. Some more immediately practical experience of the work likely to be required should also be given, some laboratory practice in the science of charity, if we may so speak. And this course should be made under such auspices and should cover so brief a period, should be so superficial if you choose to say so, that it need not be unduly expensive. For the *sine qua non* of this profession is the possibility of procuring trained workers for a moderate salary. The day must come soon when this shall be pos-

sible, or the whole scheme will fall to the ground so far as any localities except the large cities are concerned.

The only purpose of these few words is to bring before this body the need of such workers, the possible supply, and the entire lack of any opportunity for learning the science and the art of charity. It seems to me that the time has come when either through a course in some established institution, or in an institution by itself, or by the old-fashioned method never yet improved upon for actual development—the method of experimental training as the personal assistant of some skilled worker—it ought to be possible for those who would take up this work to find some place for studying it as a profession. And it is because I have felt that this must be a problem common to all countries, and urgent in all localities, that I have ventured to bring it before this body to-day and to ask for your views upon it.

COLLEGE GRADUATES IN BENEVOLENT WORK.

HOMER FOLKS, SECRETARY OF THE STATE CHARITIES AID ASSOCIATION
OF NEW YORK.

Men are more than methods. We hear so much of methods in our Conferences that we may forget the other all important factor. If each of you will appeal to your experience and speak frankly, you will say, I think, that you have found the real hindrances to the development of an efficient system of charities to be unwise men more often than unwise methods. A method generally acknowledged to be bad can fortify itself only behind men who are, in plain Anglo-Saxon, either lazy or stupid or wicked. How often, when after a long chase you have traced a bad method almost to its lair, you have found your way blocked and have been turned back by a man who could not or would not see any reason for moving. The pressing need in private charities, in State charities, and especially in municipal charities is not better methods so much as better men. May we not, then, lay aside for a few minutes our personal relations to this matter, forget that we are discussing, as it were, the ground we stand on, and consider where suitable men shall be found to conduct the active work of modern charities.

In the development of the philanthropic worker there have appeared, I think, three types. First, the man considerably past middle age, who had outlived his usefulness in any other line, but by reason of his unusual goodness was supposed to be an acceptable alms distributor, the sort of man "to whom no beggar ever appealed in vain", who regarded the distribution of coal and groceries as the simplest thing in the world, and bewailed the fact that the supply of these commodities was not unfailing. Modifications of this type of almoner are still found occasionally, especially in church charities. In the second type the great excellence lay in clerical ability. Working for a charitable agency was to him much the same as working for a dry-goods firm, a grain warehouse or a street-cleaning department, except that the wages were somewhat less. His books and records were well kept, his letters prop-

erly copied and indexed, but he had no real interest in the subject-matter itself. Particularly striking cases were wondered at and gossiped about, but the situation as a whole was accepted as inevitable and uninteresting. We still find numerous representatives of this class, particularly in public charities.

The third type of charitable worker differs from the other two in that he considers the work a profession. This means that he takes up philanthropy as other men take up journalism or law or theology or medicine. He chooses this work because it is to him the most inviting field of service. He enters upon it not to piece out the last days of waning usefulness nor as a temporary makeshift, but in the spirit of one who is looking forward over the years of a lifetime and realizes that to make any advance in knowledge or achievement each of these years must utilize the wisdom and experience of all those that have preceded. When the work is thus regarded as a profession it is but natural that the worker should seek to properly equip himself, to develop all his faculties and to gather up all his strength for his task,—in other words to avail himself, if possible, of the best opportunities that are offered at the college and university.

We believe that the college graduate in our ranks has come to stay; that philanthropic work is to be a profession, and a learned profession; that it needs and will command every advantage of training and equipment which the college and university can offer.

Many kinds of work which do not require any considerable special training, are made the employment of a lifetime, but the line between those professions that are learned and those that are not is hard to trace. Theology is regarded as a learned profession, yet it would be hardly safe to assume that all clergymen are learned men. The same remark applies to the legal and the medical professions. The proportion of educated men in these professions is, however, increasing, that is, they are becoming learned professions. We hold that the same is true of philanthropy, but that the process of evolution is in a less advanced stage. We believe that philanthropy is to take its place as a learned profession, first because it deals with some of the most vital, intricate and perplexing phenomena of life, and because our knowledge of the subject is becoming so extensive that to master it and to be able to apply in actual practice the principles that have been learned from the experience of others, there are needed the best qualities of mind and the most complete training.

Our second reason for believing that philanthropy is becoming a learned profession is that the proportion of college graduates who enter upon this line of work is steadily increasing. The great leaders in American philanthropy have from the first been men who have brought to their work the best that the colleges offer. Dr. Samuel G. Howe, who taught the blind to see, graduated from Brown University in 1821. Dr. E. C. Wines, the father of modern prison reform, graduated from Middlebury College in 1827 and was afterwards professor of languages in Washington College. Mr. Charles Loring Brace, the friend of children, was a graduate of Yale in the class of 1846. To all of these their philanthropy was their profession.

When this International Congress was organized, for the secretaries of the seven sections there were chosen seven college graduates.

It would be interesting to know how many men the colleges have sent into this new profession. In order to learn whether such information was available the writer sent to fifty leading colleges and universities a circular letter asking how many of their graduates were thus employed. Of the fifty institutions only ten had sufficient information concerning their alumni to give the report, so that our returns are a failure as to giving any indication of the total number of college men in such work.

Is it not worthy of note, however, that the ten institutions which were able to furnish the information have sent sixty men into the new profession. Seven of these are employed by charity organization societies, seven are in the employ of children's aid societies, ten are teachers in schools for feeble-minded, blind or deaf, twelve are city missionaries, sixteen are working in college settlements, two are connected with state boards of charities, five are teachers in the Hampton Institute, and one is employed in the tenement-house reform in London. This is certainly a favorable showing.

College men are needed in benevolent work for the same reason that they are needed and are sought for in every other work, because college training is worth something. The college cannot make all men wise and strong, but it can make every young man wiser and stronger. It can give a keener edge to the tool, strength to the muscle, steadiness to the nerve.

We are not forgetful of the long line of worthy men who now, as in the past, without college training, see clearly and labor most successfully. We should be among the first, we hope, to acknowledge their

claims to the highest rank; but if to their superior endowments and industry had been added the university training, we believe that their achievements would have been still more splendid.

The Forum for June, 1893, contains an article by President Charles F. Thwing on the after-careers of college graduates. The statements are based on an examination of Appleton's Cyclopedia of American Biography, which sketches the lives of what are supposed to be the most prominent 15,000 persons in American history.

We are pleased to note that President Thwing reckons philanthropy as one of his 17 professions. Under this heading he places 180 names. Only two professions, actors and inventors, show a smaller number. The other 14 range from "explorers and pioneers", 249, to clergymen, 2,744. Of the philanthropists mentioned in this Cyclopedia, 16 per cent. are college graduates. Three professions, explorers, artists and inventors show a smaller proportion; of the physicians 46 per cent. are college graduates, of lawyers 50 per cent., of clergymen 58 per cent.

What are some of the specific things which we may expect the college man in philanthropy to do?

We shall expect him to report faithfully and intelligently the results of social experiments. A large part of philanthropic work is still experimental. In nearly every field radically different methods assert their claims; their merits can be determined only by actual trial. We are still uncertain as to the effect of even some of the simplest forms of relief upon general social conditions. The offices of our charitable societies and institutions are, or should be, laboratories, in each of which are being worked out the details of some line of social experimentation; and it is from the combination of the truths thus learned that the science of philanthropy must be elaborated, just as any other science is the sum total of the knowledge that has been gained by hundreds of investigators in many countries and during many years.

I wish to emphasize the fact that the chief executive officer of a charitable society or institution, who is in daily and immediate contact with its problems, should be a man able to see and willing to tell the real results of the work of that society or institution. He is the only person whose relation to the work enables him to give a complete and truthful report. If the secretary of a charity organization society or of a state board of charities, or the superintendent of a children's aid society or of an institution for children is unable to see or unwilling to tell the real results of its work, *i. e.*, the knowledge gained from its experiment,

then that loss is irreparable and our progress is retarded, if indeed we are not actually misled.

The annual report of every charitable society might be a positive contribution to the science of philanthropy. It should first of all state clearly, intelligently, frankly and in detail just what that society has done. It should also state what it thinks it has learned in doing this, how the results of its year's work seem to bear upon the general social problem, upon which we are all working. It may contain as much else in the way of ornament as is desired, but it certainly ought never to lack these two features. Yet how often these reports are the veriest trash, mere sentimental vaporings about the "year that has rolled by" and about the sweetness of charitable work, with no clear statement of facts, no thoughtful attempt to gather up the scattered efforts of the year and see what they really mean.

Now the cause of this in many cases seems to be that the people actually doing the work have not been able to understand that there *was* anything more than the separated, scattered, specific daily duties as they were performed. "Eyes have they, but they see not". If every agency engaged in benevolent work would announce once each year freely, fully and frankly its real convictions and its real doubts, based on its experience, we would make more real progress in scientific philanthropy in one year than we now do in ten.

We may also expect the man of college training to look behind the effects and symptoms of social disorders with which we are dealing to their causes. Dependent children must be provided with homes, but it is also important to understand and reform the conditions that tend to make children homeless. To train delinquent children to obedience and self-respect is a noble work, but a nobler work it is to prevent children from becoming delinquent. The feeble-minded child must be trained, but at the heart of that duty is the more far-reaching one of searching out and restraining the forces that make for imbecility. It is well to relieve poverty; it is better to prevent it. The causes of these conditions do not lie upon the surface and can only be understood by careful, persistent, exhaustive study, much of which will seem to bear no immediate fruit. But this is just the kind of work for which the student has been trained. He has been taught to challenge every fact, to ask it whence it comes and whither it is tending, to work patiently and with infinite pains. We expect great things from the infusion into

philanthropic methods of the spirit of the student of biology who makes no excuse for spending a whole year in studying the leg of a frog.

The complex social relations of a man seem to us, however, to offer fully as inviting a field from the standpoint of pure research and to have the additional inspiration of bearing directly upon great problems which we must meet prepared or unprepared.

• We shall also expect the college man to lay much stress on statistical inquiries in every department of philanthropic work. The value of statistics in such work is only beginning to be appreciated, indeed this method becomes available only when the men engaged in the work are trained to its use and value. We still hear, even in the National Conferences, occasional flings at "making statistics about poor people." No argument is needed to convince the college man that he is on safe ground only while his judgments, plans and theories take fast hold of actual conditions, and that statistics simply enlarge and correct his knowledge of such conditions.

Another result which we shall expect from the advent of the professional charitable worker is an increase in the amount and efficiency of volunteer work. It might seem at first thought that the development of the professional was opposed to the development of volunteer work, such as that of the friendly visitor, of all that personal interest by those who do not need help in those who do, in which we have all placed so much faith. Who of us has not at some time dreamed of the day when each individual of the more favored class would sustain a lively, personal, generous relation to some one of the less favored, and that then and there, in this hand-to-hand, man-to-man struggle, the social conflict would, without the shedding of blood, issue in peaceful, permanent victory. But it was only a dream after all. The vast majority of men, and women too, will continue to be absorbed in their several lines of work, their professions. We shall work in vain when opposing the development of the division of labor. Then, too, social science is only one of many sciences that deal with problems touching man's welfare, and as our secretary has well pointed out, social pathology, in which the new profession finds its field, is only one of the divisions of social science.

While we do rest our hopes largely upon the ultimate development of genuine personal relations, which shall be natural and wholesome fellowship rather than professional or consciously philanthropic, their complete realization is a far off day. Actual conditions and problems must

now be faced, and in and through their solution we must work toward our social ideals. In this practical work people who give to it all their time are indispensable. The antithesis is not between those who are paid and those who are not paid, but between those who give to such work all their time—to some of whom remuneration is a necessity and to others not—and those who can give to it only the odds and ends of days and hours, but whose main business is something else.

The motto "every man his own lawyer" has fallen into disrepute, but we still believe that every citizen should be acquainted with the general principles of law and the special statutes that apply to his occupation, in order that he may, as a matter of habit, obey these laws and enjoy their benefits. We do not advise that every man should be his own physician, but we do advise a knowledge of the ordinary laws of health that unconsciously, from force of habit, men may protect their bodies and conserve their physical strength. In a similar sense we believe that every man should be his own philanthropist; he should be acquainted with the general principles of benevolent work, so that in every relation and contact of life—when accosted by a beggar on the street, when sharing as a citizen the responsibility of conducting municipal, county and state charities, opening the soliciting letters of charitable agencies in his office, dealing with his servant or his coachman, participating in the management of church or private charities—he may act justly, wisely and in harmony with the most reliable teaching upon such subjects. Perhaps this is as much as we can expect from the majority of men while they are immersed in a profession or in a legitimate business, regarding their occupation, not chiefly as a means of personal aggrandizement, but as a line of social duty, if you will pardon the phrase, a function of the social organism, theirs for the time, their grand privilege being to leave it in more perfect working order than they find it. There are a considerable number, however, who can give frequently and perhaps regularly a day or an hour to something apart from their regular occupation.

It is in inspiring and directing these occasional workers that the professional or steady workers will find one of their greatest opportunities and principal duties. The inspiration will result from spreading an exact and reliable knowledge of the conditions it is sought to relieve and remedy, and showing how former efforts have affected those conditions, in other words, from pointing out the nature of the disease and demonstrating its curability. However enthusiastic the sup-

porters of a charity may be at the outset, they are sure to lose interest unless there is in it something more than the relief in some one way of a great number of individuals; there must be development, progress, growth, "a move upon conditions," if this interest is to hold its own against the multitude of others. Not only must the enthusiasm of the occasional worker be aroused, but he must be directed, shown where and how to take hold, and how to work in harmony with what is already being done in his field. The question as to just what relations between the occasional workers and the steady workers will secure the largest return from the work of both is a puzzling one, and will only be solved by continued effort and many adjustments. I think that experience has proven, however, that each class is necessary to and develops with the other, that where there has been the greatest amount of intelligent continuous work, there has also been the greatest amount of volunteer work, and wherever there has been an extended volunteer movement there has been felt most strongly the absolute necessity of securing capable, steady workers.

We have argued that philanthropy needs college men. What has it to offer them? Our limited time forbids us the pleasure of considering the merits and opportunities of this profession as compared with others, but we may, perhaps, note a few features of benevolent work as it is now conducted which will have to be modified before it can attract and hold its proper share of college men.

One fact which debars many from entering and others from remaining in the new profession is the feeling, which has been fairly prevalent, that workers in this line should receive, at best, moderate salaries; that, as there is a measure of sacrifice on the part of those who support such societies, so there should be on the part of those who are employed by them. This is but one expression of the feeling which is quite wide-spread, though often not consciously entertained, that money in the treasury of a charitable society is somehow different from other money. What is the proper doctrine of wages in this new profession? The tendency of its development as a learned profession, *i. e.*, of its being made a life-work and commanding first-class ability and education, is evidently unfavorable to the idea that the remuneration should not be equal to that offered by other professions. So long as we are working under a general competitive system it would seem evident that this profession must offer salaries as large as teaching or journalism, as medicine or preaching, if it is to secure the same grade of service.

There will, of course, always be a work for the unpaid religious orders and brotherhoods, but unless economic conditions are revolutionized their plan can never be made general in benevolent work. Who is to care for these unpaid workers in case of sickness or accident and in old age? Who will provide for their wives? Who educate their children? Work of this character may be most excellent, but must always be wholly inadequate to meet the demands for workers in this field.

Nor do we mean to disparage any individual instance of sacrifice in accepting a small salary, in order to do a work toward which one may be drawn, or in order to continue in such a work. On the contrary we believe that no one is fitted for this work who is not willing that its demands should cut as deeply into his income, his personal pleasures and ambitions, as it does into those of any person who contributes to the work in other ways, or who is not willing to accept for himself those general principles and standards of life and conduct which he prescribes for those whom he is trying to help. But this pertains only to the spirit of the work and has absolutely no relation to the question of wages. We must accord to the charitable worker the right to choose the field in which his personal beneficence is to be exercised, and certainly we have no right to assess and collect in advance his contributions. When benevolent work takes its place as a learned profession, the question of wages may be safely left to take care of itself. There is an increasing demand from every quarter for such workers, and as the college professor is now reckoned at about \$2,000 per year more than he was two years ago, so we may expect the remuneration of skilled philanthropists to keep pace with the demand.

A second unattractive feature has been the lack of any *esprit de corps*, or professional pride among such workers. The professional feeling or fellowship in itself compels a certain sort of recognition from the community, and attracts educated men of all classes and of all degrees of social influence. Many men who would not hesitate to enter the profession of teaching or theology may hesitate to enter a profession which has not even a name. How often we have been reminded that this profession has no name when we have been asked by some inquiring official, "name?, age?, *occupation?*?"

The formation of Monday Evening Clubs in Boston and Philadelphia, composed of paid workers in charitable, philanthropic and humane work, is an excellent step in the right direction, and it is to be hoped

that the example will be widely followed. Why should not such an organization take its place by the side of the medical societies, the preachers' meetings, and the bar associations?

The moderate salary and the lack of professional pride were the natural results of the estimation in which the work was formerly held, both by the paid workers and the employers. Before a juster view of its dignity and its social value they are already becoming righted and should not be seriously regarded by any student who feels stirring within him the call to preach this sort of a gospel. The earnest student, if he carefully studies present social conditions will find that no other profession calls so urgently for original thought and work and offers such direct and helpful participation in the processes that are making for social betterment.

UNIVERSITY SETTLEMENTS AS LABORATORIES IN SOCIAL SCIENCE.

ROBERT A. WOODS, OF THE ANDOVER HOUSE, BOSTON, MASS.

A university settlement consists of a group of men or women of trained minds and elevated moral sense, who reside together in one of the poorer and more crowded sections of a city or town for the sake, in the first place, of observing carefully from day to day the varied and shifting phases of the life of the people, particularly of those who live and work immediately around them; and in the second place, of bringing to bear at every different point of human need, particularly so far as the immediate district is concerned, such of the resources of society as are necessary to supply those needs.

A university settlement, in its deepest meaning, is not a charitable or philanthropic establishment. It is an outpost where certain persons from separated sections of society, who by education or by experience become freed from the prejudices of their class, may meet and confer with one another for the sake of having each side know more about the events and the motives of life of the other side; so that each may grow by admiring and seeking the better qualities that exist in the other; so that the particular virtues developed under either set of conditions may pass over and exist where the conditions are less favorable, until these virtues through their inherent strength and value shall bring about such changes in society as will make their exercise and growth come, not indeed without effort and even struggle, but still naturally and almost inevitably. This, I say, is what the university settlement stands for in its broader principles, and I touch upon these principles at the beginning, because the usefulness of university settlements as laboratories in social science is considerably affected by this view of their nature and attitude.

Social science is not like geology or astronomy, a science which has its results only in the progress which comes from conforming exactly to data which will be practically the same whether we conform or not;

social science includes within its data the constructive and reconstructive energy of the conscious mind. It is the science of social nutrition and hygiene, of social pathology and therapeutics.

The investigation under it includes the investigation of normal static conditions, of abnormal static conditions, and of the observed effects of all processes which under reasonable hypothesis may work upon both sorts of static conditions, to produce change in them along the lines of the normal dynamic development of society. Thus the field is the world; and the particular territory for study and experiment by the university settlement includes the whole reach and depth of human life in that little world which lies within the narrow limits of the neighborhood of which the residents are part. The representatives of the more favored classes come to the less favored; and therefore, for the present at least, their newer knowledge of the life of the educated and well-to-do members of the community is got by observing the effect of it upon the life of the poor and by observing from the new point of view the effect of the life of the poor upon the more favored. For the rest, they find themselves learning daily the truth about the life of the more favored through the large number of new data for comparison supplied by the life of the less favored.

I do not wish, however, to differentiate the work of the university settlement too strongly from other forms of social work. Its domain for practical investigation and action lies very largely in the life of the poorer classes, and to justify its existence the settlement movement must in due time present some substantial results in the way of understanding and of bettering the conditions of life as regards poverty and labor. It is as actual residents of a neighborhood which presents these problems most strongly that settlement workers are able to bring to the more favored classes in the community a better knowledge and a better feeling with regard to social evils. As residents of such a neighborhood also, they go naturally into the study of those larger phases of social conditions which can be appreciated only by taking the range of a city as a whole. This includes all that is connected with the government of the city, with the management of business enterprises conducted by the municipality, and the general direction of the public school system. Residents will also be led into sufficient study of neighborhoods similar to their own to enable them to make wise comparison between other neighborhoods and their own. The practised eye will begin to discern marked distinctions both

in the outward environment and the inner life of neighborhoods. In some cities different neighborhoods are as unlike as different nations and as even different races are. In order to know his own neighborhood well, the settlement worker must know other neighborhoods; just as to appreciate the workings of some of the greater forces that run into the life of his neighborhood, he must be familiar with the larger phases of the social situation throughout the city and with those larger social forces which rise out of the life of the city as a whole. And so in study and experiment with regard to those better lines of social action which need to be introduced into the neighborhood and the local district, the residents are led at once to the investigation of such larger enterprise as is already active in the city, whether it be in the way of charity, philanthropy, popular education, trade organization or religious effort. But here again this kind of work often, upon investigation and after experiment, proves to be full of mistakes and shortcomings, which need to be corrected. Often a dire need in one neighborhood is a dire need in all the neighborhoods of the city, with no development of resources to meet the need. Often under both of these circumstances it becomes the duty of the resident of a settlement in the interest of the city as a whole to take steps toward the further development of partial measures, and toward the introduction from the beginning of new schemes in one line or other of social advance.

This then leads the settlement out into the broad field of social economics as studied and practised the world over. Indeed in all the wider, as well as in all the more intense, investigations and efforts carried on by the residents of the settlement, it is to be considered highly necessary that the practical work and study of the settlement should be carried on in the light of such study and such work in various parts of the world. The settlement therefore has its sociological library and its sociological periodicals; and it requires of its men or women some particular aptitude or preparation for the application of such study to the work in hand, and even that rarer power for the qualification of the results of study by the results of actual experiment. This leads one to say what has already been intimated, and what I trust will be more clearly established as I go on, that there is much in the spirit and method of settlement work which as yet finds no direction from the traditions, writings, or experience, of others. Allow me to say quite frankly that the settlement movement stands, in a particular way, for the tardy entrance into social work of a new kind of man and

woman; a man and woman who have presumably been nurtured after the best manner in the truths and impulses of the higher human life and the later human civilization. Their point of view for study is different, their point of departure for action is different, from that which has ordinarily been held by social workers. They come, if they are loyal to their nurture, with devotion to everything that goes to make up the good and beautiful life. This life serves as a kind of standard, which regulates their sense of the proportion of things, by which they measure the evils of social conditions, and by which they measure the healing virtue of social resources.

Social conditions and social resources have never yet been so studied and so experimented upon. The university settlement resident comes to his study and his work with a stirring belief in the life-giving quality of culture. He holds every good thing a means of grace. He believes so deeply in what he has to bring, that he is willing to do his work without seeing the results. He confers upon his neighbors, the working people, the signal honor and respect of trusting them with all those better things which refresh and strengthen his own life. He is, if he is truly educated, a believer in man, a democrat, a citizen of the world, and as such nothing human is foreign to him; and he sees in every human life what rouses in him living interests, honest admiration, something worthy of companionship, of laughter, of tears. Such is the scientist in this new kind of laboratory.

We may not ask or claim too much when we say that from the settlements will come some wholly new illumination into the life of the common people, some wholly new plans by which the treasures of knowledge and beauty, of friendship, of commanding energy and righteousness, shall be made the possession, the natural inheritance of the people. Just as through the last few generations the results of discovery, exploration, experiment, and invention have been making available for the use of man, have been bringing to light, organizing and adapting for the needs of men, material resources of the world; so now, retaining these same powers and applying them to a finer and more complex material and bringing them into far more delicate and difficult adjustment, the work of the present and the coming day is to discover, to arrange, and to assimilate, according to the needs of human life, the whole of the higher resources of civilization. To this new task, the university settlements are committed by all the interests and hopes which have brought them into existence.

But we must look more particularly into the life and work of the settlement in order to find in what specific ways it fulfills the office of a sociological laboratory. I would first like to show you how largely the regular work of the settlement from day to day is done after the analytical and synthetic method of science. I shall then give some particular instances of careful and persistent investigation of certain lines of social facts, with inductions therefrom in the way of suggestions of social action which have already been accomplished by residents at settlements, together with other suggested lines for investigation which can easily be taken up as the settlement progresses.

The basis upon which the neighborhood work of the settlements proceeds is that of acquaintance and friendship. This for social investigation is as much a dictate of science, as for the improvement and elevation of people it is a dictate of human feeling and common sense.

The reproach of social science thus far has been that it has not sought out and presented the elusive but distinctive quality and essence of human life. Where in any accurate actual study,—save those of Frédéric Le Play and Charles Booth—does one feel all along that persons, men and women, souls if you please, are being dealt with? Social science, if it is to be truly scientific, dealing with human beings, must use the most delicate human apparatus in the way of personal acquaintance and sympathy, in order to gain accurate and delicate results. It must have some such carefully modulated system as that of organic chemistry, which detects and classifies and symbolizes, so far as may be, all the subtle ethers which, subtle though they are, yet absolutely differentiate every flower from every other flower, and every fruit from every other fruit.

The acquaintance which the settlement seeks has to do not only with individuals but with families, and not only with families but with the different little groups into which families resolve themselves. At the Andover House each of several small localities is the special care of a certain resident. He visits its families from time to time until he becomes on easy and familiar terms with all of them. He avoids absolutely the mechanical and inquisitive methods of the census-taker. He is not a "visitor" in the professional sense of that term, going monotonously and regularly from house to house. He is simply a neighborly caller. He gradually comes to know the things that make up the life of these people just as one friend comes to know about another friend. And so he begins to make out a complete schedule of what life means in the

particular street or court where his new found friends live, including the outer conditions of the place and the inner nature of the people; the general condition as to cleanliness and sanitation outside the houses; the plumbing, drainage, light, and ventilation within; the children's playground (for they are pretty sure to have one); the homes in which people live, the size, number, convenience and privacy of rooms, the care that is taken of them; regard or disregard of neatness, cleanliness, and order in the home; the food which each family consumes and the cooking of it; the clothing they wear; the work they do; the wages which the bread-winners receive; the care with which the family income is spent, the various ways in which it is spent, the thrift, the cost of rent; the influence of intelligence and character, or the lack of it, upon the family and upon the neighborhood; the pursuits and recreation of the members of the family in common and the effect of the life of the family upon its individual members and upon other families; the general character thus given to the locality as a whole, with particular reference to the improving and degrading influences that exist among this group of families; and all further isolated details of the existence of the individuals making up the group, both personally and in relation to each other, all matters which affect their bodily health, labor, education, sobriety, honesty, nationality, and religion. This is the kind of patient and comprehensive investigation which is beginning to be undertaken at the settlements, requiring pains and effort, but made light all the time by the human interest which it calls out. One such schedule has been worked out at the Andover House with a fair degree of completeness, and two others are under way.

A peculiarly important line of social investigation and experiment, which is being undertaken by university settlements, is the discovery of such forms of original organization and co-operation among the people themselves as exist in the neighboring district; and what is equally important, experiment in the way of participating as a local neighbor on the same plane as the rest in such efforts, for the sake of finding what actual social value there is in them, and how that value may be enhanced by the residents without running too great a risk of destroying the independent incentive of the people themselves; for every germ of original social enterprise on the people's part is to the social student of the same stirring interest as a rare specimen to the naturalist. It is as dear to him mentally as, from the point of view of philanthropy and

social reform, it is dear to him morally. It gives him the opportunity he most longs for, to see the internal life and movement of the part of society which is the object of his investigation.

To him, in the original social enterprise of his neighbors there is the energy of a kind of nascent force which is never so clearly present elsewhere, and which produces certain unmistakable and significant affinities through which great results may come. From this point of view it is not of the greatest consequence just what the particular basis of organization may be, whether it be a trade-union, a friendly society, a workingmen's club, a temperance society, a Grand Army Post, or a military company. It was very interesting, for instance, a while ago at the north end of Boston where the Italians live, to see by posters in the windows that there was to be a dance under the combined auspices of the society "Vittorio Emmanuel" and the club "George Washington".

One of the very many things done at the Hull House is to bring together people of different nationalities to sing their national songs and to observe their national holidays; thus merely organizing the people on the basis of social principles already felt and recognized among them. All effort in this direction, the co-operation of the people on the basis of their own organizing principles, will be of the greatest scientific value, both in the way of the careful experimental direction of those forces to some better and worthier end than the people would themselves direct them, and in enabling us to know, as the result of experiment, how best to stimulate in the people themselves their own wiser and more persistent action.

I need not I think, discuss at length the particular influence which such effort may have upon the various phases of the labor movement. Those of us who are concerned with settlement work believe that there are large possibilities in this direction. We believe that we shall be able by degrees to bring about a little of that illumination, which is, after all, the great end of social science, and will enable men in different circumstances of life with different training and different feeling to put themselves in each other's place. At Toynbee Hall there has been some very useful effort of this kind both in the way of investigation and experiment. Certain residents and associates of Toynbee Hall have been intimate in the counsels of the Dockers' Union. One Toynbee man unofficially gave most valuable assistance in connection with the great dock strike, and he and another Toynbee man

wrote a careful account of the strike in all its management and strategy. The frequent conferences and discussions at Toynbee Hall at which laborer, capitalist, and scholar meet, constitute real and most valuable social experiments, with results which are apparent in the better knowledge and sympathy which they bring about.

The Hull House is in a similar way an active centre for discussion and conference between trade-unionists and persons not of the working class. In Boston a series of conferences have been inaugurated by the Andover and Denison Houses, in which the two settlements are to invite influential people of different classes to come together at some convenient place in the city to discuss the labor question and other social problems. At the present moment in Boston it is proposed to organize a federal labor union affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, the members of which shall be partly trade-union leaders and partly residents and friends of the settlements. This action will pledge those who join the federal union to a belief in the value of labor organization, but will not commit them to the wholesale approval of things done in the name of trade-unionism. It will give the members of the several unions a unique opportunity to learn from within what is the method of trade-unions and the spirit of those who lead them, and it will also give them an opportunity to secure a wiser development of the movement. In the same general way the workers in the settlements have constant opportunities to learn about and participate in other phases of organization among the working people in their social clubs, in their co-operative schemes, in their building and loan associations, in their insurance and benefit orders, and even in the different kinds of social disaffection and agitation,—socialism, anarchism, land nationalization, and the like.

A settlement has good opportunities in the way of finding what the influence of politics is among such people as are immediately around it, and can judiciously attempt to purify and elevate the politics of the local ward or district. The Neighborhood Guild, now the University Settlement in New York, has been making an effort in this direction. It has laid out for the tenth ward, in which it is located, a comprehensive political programme for the improvement of the ward, and is gradually bringing about a ward organization, which is pledged to introduce different reforms, mainly in the way of social politics. The Neighborhood Guild idea contemplates drawing very largely upon the latent energy of the immediate district for carrying on the various

enterprises which it introduces, and by this principle people come into organized social action under the leadership of persons from without the neighborhood. But these persons attempt in every possible way to draw out in the people the local responsibility for and interest in what is undertaken. Here the social student finds a somewhat different field for study and experiment than that in which the organization is under the people's own initiative.

On the other hand, this field involves different materials for study and experiment from those which appear under the plan of having aid, encouragement and organization come largely and confessedly through influences from without the district. It is, after all, in influences that come from without that the hope of progress in most of the poorer quarters of the cities comes. The university settlements have no desire to deceive themselves into thinking that they and their work are not, to all intents and purposes, influences from without the neighborhood. They do not attempt to identify themselves in any vapid and sensational way with the local life. They know that this can come about only gradually and partially at the most. A true university settlement welcomes every enterprise in its district which is contributing social value to the life of the district. It never competes with and always co-operates with every such effort. Wherever social work is being done, whatever be its origin, the settlement makes it its business, first, to make a careful estimate of the objective social value of that particular effort; second, to learn its existing methods; and third, to endeavor, to experiment, so to speak, after a wiser and more effective way of gaining the result aimed at. This is the line of action naturally followed by a settlement toward all the existing charitable and philanthropic activities as well as toward educational and religious effort in its district.

The amount of time and effort given to this co-operation with existing agencies differs at different settlements. But so far as my own attitude is concerned, I regard it as one of the most important features of settlement work to bring into the various forms of charity and philanthropy that broader sense of the situation, which is gained by living among those whom you would help, and acting as a medium through which the local agencies of charity and philanthropy may to a great extent run the gamut of the need of the locality and take up into themselves more and more of the social energy existing in the neighborhood and capable of being turned to social account. On

the other hand, it is of great value to the settlement worker, particularly to the novice, to learn from the experienced and systematic charity worker.

Thus far I have said little about the new forms of social work which the settlement itself introduces into the neighborhood. I have already suggested that the settlements may be expected to make some genuine contributions in the way of the larger application of the resources of society to social needs. Having made a diagnosis of their neighborhood and district, having learned carefully about the various influences which tend socially to elevate or depress, they now begin to introduce afresh various forms of effort, more or less highly organized, toward the subduing, softening, refining, enlightening and uplifting of the men, women and children who live immediately about them. This is done in a thousand different ways; sometimes under a well established plan, and sometimes through novel schemes shifting from day to day, until the right line of success is found.

There is no rule as to the carrying out of this sort of settlement work. There is about it constantly, however, a distinct note and a distinct motive—the note of personality, and the motive of bringing to bear upon the life of the neighborhood through personality every influence which ennobles persons. Here then is the transcendent function of the university settlement as a social science laboratory; to mix in the crucible of the glowing life of a little circle of human souls those various elements which have been found through the ages to combine together, so as to throw off the dross and the slag of human nature and to set free its pure and shining metal. Do we indeed believe in civilization? Have we faith enough in those things which console and uplift us to believe they will console and uplift others in different walks of life from us? Do we believe that the good and beautiful life is full of absolute interest and fascination? If we believe it, let us prove it to be true. This expression of the deeper purpose which animates the young men and young women who are concerned in the university settlement movement is no less the purpose which has animated the heroes of science than the purpose which has animated in some form or other the prophets and reformers.

In some of the larger lines of social investigation and social experiment as they affect the life of the great city and of the community in general, we may expect as time goes on some useful results from the university settlement. The university settlement being a scientific

laboratory, the workers in this laboratory become experts in their department. The settlement is, indeed, a group of experts in different lines of social effort; a group of such persons living intimately together constantly stirring each other to fresh interest by the result of new information and discovery. And as a poor and crowded neighborhood is a microcosm of all social problems, the resident by his study and experiment in the microcosm becomes equipped for study and work in the broader sphere. At the Andover House each resident is encouraged to take up for careful investigation some one of the larger phases of the city's life. During the past year one man has made a careful study of the whole question of popular amusements in the city, and as a result of inductions from the facts has reached some interesting and suggestive conclusions.* In the same way and with a similarly useful result, another man has studied the work of the churches in the poorer parts of Boston. A third resident has been exemplifying the heroism of science, by donning the outfit of a tramp and spending many nights in the different cheap lodging-houses in the city for the sake of making

*CHEAP POPULAR CONCERTS.

Investigation of concerts, theatres, dance halls, public socials, billiard halls, saloons, and athletic grounds and buildings.

1. Amusements are educative, not pastime. Must be cheap in price and popular.
2. Great lack of high-grade music, cheap symphonies, oratorios and chorals. So called "sacred concerts" a farce. Rare chance to broaden use of Sunday afternoons.
3. Theatres are moral and educative power. Average cleanness of cheaper theatres, respectability and moral reserve of audience. Average cheap melodrama too sensational and exciting. Need of cheap naturalistic modern plays. Need of broader, more healthy humor. Melodrama too heavy and sad. Bad ventilation of cheap theatres. Need of local family recreation, theatres and gardens.
4. Dancing at home and in social circle to be encouraged *vs.* public balls.
5. Better, cleaner attendants, and better surroundings to billiard halls and bowling alleys.
6. Local club rooms in tenement blocks needed to counteract saloons. Not labeled "coffee houses," "church reading rooms," etc., but "tee-to-tums, etc."
7. Small, numerous exercise grounds valuable *vs.* great centralized public parks; winter gardens, music pavilions, winter skating rinks to compete with saloons and worse resorts.
8. Opportunity for best Christian men to develop and purify present system. Field unlimited. Personal identification, not condemnation.

a perfectly thorough exploration of this unknown land.* This investigation will be continued at least for another year and the facts with regard to every cheap lodging-house in Boston will be collected and systematically arranged, including so far as possible the facts about the tramp, casual, and criminal element which infects these places, the whole study being carried on in the light of the history of vagabondage. It is expected that from year to year further lines of investigation will be followed up, touching upon labor, temperance, education, the housing of the people, their food and clothing, and other topics which easily suggest themselves.

Some work of this kind has already been done at Toynbee Hall, but not nearly so much as could be wished, considering that Toynbee Hall has now been for ten years at its work.

Corresponding to such lines of investigation as this, and indeed as a result of the study of the particular needs of the immediate neighborhood, several of the settlements are introducing practical economic experiments toward the improvement of the economic condition of the working people. At Toynbee Hall, for instance, a share has been taken in the establishment of co-operative stores in East London, and three or four co-operative industries have been organized and are mainly directed by Toynbee Hall men. At the Oxford House, Mr. P. R. Buchanan, the vice-head of the House, has set going a large num-

*CHEAP LODGING-HOUSES.

- I. Definition of the term.
- II. List of kinds of houses coming within the definition.
- III. Necessity of study at close range by lodging.
- IV. Disguise as an aid to such study.
- V. A typical night in a lodging-house.
- VI. Reasons for existence of cheap lodging-houses.
- VII. Who the lodgers are.
- VIII. How they live.
- IX. Significant human traits displayed by them.
- X. { Social Bearings
of
Lodging-houses } that is, relations to { Crime.
Sexual Immorality.
Public Health.
Public Order.
Political Colonization.
Saloon Problems.
Home Life.
The Unemployed.
- XI. Discussion of success of remedies for evils already applied.
- XII. Discussion of feasibility of proposed remedies.
- XIII. Conclusions.

ber of social and economic enterprises in connection with the University Club with its fifteen hundred workingmen members. Mr. Buchanan is also the creator of the Tee-To-Tum, a unique form of coffee house, with various club features, several of which are now being successfully carried on in different parts of London. In connection with the Women's College Settlement in Rivington Street, New York, there is a co-operative dairy. At the Hull House, the Jane Club, a large self-supporting home for working women is being successfully carried on, besides a coffee house, a New England kitchen, and other economic enterprises. The effort in connection with such experiment is to secure the interest and the active assistance of such persons as by training and experience are skilled in the line of the particular experiment that is being made.

A university settlement, according to its largest idea, would contain among its residents and its active associate workers men and women who would cover the whole range of productive work whether in the way of manual, commercial or professional skill. They would each study particularly those phases of social problems in the neighborhood and through the city which bore particularly upon their departments, and they would each undertake such particular effort and experiment as their training and experience would best enable them to undertake. The tradesman would manage experiment in the way of distributive co-operation; the manufacturer of experiment in the way of productive co-operation; the real estate dealer would take hold of the financial side of the tenement-house problem; the craftsman would introduce manual training. At one of the newer settlements in London two young lawyers come one evening in every week to meet poor people in the neighborhood who have been subjects of injustice and oppression and assist them with legal counsel and aid. At the Woman's Settlement in Rivington Street, New York, one of the residents is a practising physician. It has been felt all along that the settlements would furnish admirable hospital training to young clergymen and to those who are going into charitable and philanthropic work, but it is the hope of those who have the movement at heart that the settlements will become training schools for every calling in life which has to do with the strengthening and upbuilding of society. There is no reason why lawyers, journalists, politicians, teachers, business men, artists, scientists, craftsmen, as well as all women aspirants toward doing a woman's work in this age of woman, should not take

some such course of hospital and dispensary training to fit them for the broader practice of their skill, by teaching them to adapt their powers to meet some of the wider extremes of such human need as their kind of power alone can meet. And thus we may say at the end that the university settlements stand as laboratories in the greatest of all sciences; (1) by bringing together competent persons of varied tastes and training, who learn from day to day with all their senses, in all the usual experiences and in all the sudden turns of working class life, what that life in its outer substance and in its inner forces is. (2) By testing, tempering and modifying after a better pattern the varied interacting apparatus, whether in the way of charity or self-help, which is set for the accomplishment of social work. (3) By bringing to the test of positive experiment the varied resources of culture and civilization in order to adapt them for accomplishing, by every sort of process, the enlivening and uplifting of humanity in all its parts; so that the nutrition appropriate for the social body, so to speak, may be normally assimilated, and may be taken up by a normal circulation, which will unerringly carry each nutritious and upbuilding element to that part of the organism whose need it appropriately fills. (4) By training men and women to be fit vehicles of such influence; to develop skilled social workers, and to send them out, not merely into professional charity and philanthropy, but into every kind of human activity, in order that they may broaden every kind of human activity so as to make it a truly social function. (5) By bringing far separated individuals and classes together so that they may all learn to classify themselves, not according to their superficial differences, but according to their deeper and more real unity, to the end that society may become truly homogeneous and organic, with a far stronger vital principle through which to adapt itself to its compelling environment, for filling out the pattern of human life, for accomplishing human destiny.

POPULAR EDUCATION IN SOCIAL SCIENCE.

GEORGE ILES, NEW YORK.

All along the line American education is closing its ranks and taking wiser direction. Naturally enough its new and quickened movement begins at the head of the column, with the universities, whose standards are steadily rising, whose curricula grow every year more varied and elastic, better adapted to the age we live in. On all sides the universities are entering upon a popular movement new in their history,—first and chiefly by knitting themselves into organic relation with the whole scheme of instruction down to the kindergarten. With preparatory colleges the University of Chicago is directly allied; the most conservative of her sisters are establishing pedagogical departments, for in the profession of teaching as in that of law, medicine, or the ministry, it is felt that the best foundation for the specific professional course is laid in the broadest culture. An increased percentage of university graduates are adopting teaching less as a stepping-stone to something else than as a life work. At Johns Hopkins, for example, twenty-seven per cent. of the bachelors and eighty-seven per cent. of the Doctors of Philosophy graduated to February, 1892, have made this choice. University graduates, too, have chiefly manned the Teacher's College, New York, and the departments for training teachers at Pratt Institute, Brooklyn, and at Drexel Institute, Philadelphia.

For many thousands who cannot enter a university the extension classes are providing education second only to that enjoyed in a residential course. The lead in thus stirring the cream into the milk is taken by the University of Chicago, whose extension work is an organic part of the institution. Already the extension classes have brought workman and employer to a common ground where each may better understand the other's case, and where both have had the president of the Board of Trade offer a word of luminous explanation. Dr. Bemis, of the extension department, informs me that an effort is being made to interest certain of the trades-unions of Chicago in extension work, and

with fair promise of success. He declares that extension students, adults as they are for the most part, have not a little to teach their instructors. One of the compensations for lateness in education is that great truths come to the learner's mind unstaled by any too early, and therefore hurtful, familiarity. Your hard-headed printer or stonemason has often his own opinion, and one worth hearing, regarding the standpoint and reasoning of the lecturer. The student toilers are thus creating a decided and altogether healthy reaction between the people and the higher education. Here as elsewhere in our democratic life, when the leaders respond to the judicious demands of their followers the following not only multiplies in number but waxes in zeal.

Time was, and not so very long ago, when a college professor could count on a lecture-room securely closed during his summer vacation. To-day he finds himself invited to Chautauqua, or any one of a score of the summer schools established by Harvard and other universities. At times the discourses thus given condense into a week or two the instruction spread throughout a college season. This has been the case at the School of Applied Ethics, conducted during the past two summers at Plymouth-of-the-pilgrimage, where in addition to some of the most eminent teachers in the land, Mr. Bosanquet, fresh from labors in a charity organization in London, has been heard, together with publicists of the stamp of Hon. Carroll D. Wright.

In a more intimate way than by summer courses or extension work, university men and women are serving the cause of social science at the college and social settlements. In Hull House, Chicago possesses the best institution of the kind in the United States; it recently managed to elect as alderman in its district a worthy hatter, whose predecessors as a rule have been saloon-keepers. The settlements prove, if proof were needed, that the best side whereat to study the social question is the inside,—not from a private box, but upon the stage itself. Because Charles Booth lodged, ate and drank with the poor of London he has been able to paint his picture of them sympathetically and therefore most truthfully. With a thoroughness short of his example, but still in commendable fashion, four students of the University of Chicago are making a survey of the people who work and live in the stock yards district of the city. Their comparative regularity of employment, the rent paid or the extent to which homes are owned, their savings, and their grasp of the drink habit upon them, are to be ascertained as fully as may be,—all by way of intelligently breaking ground for a local branch

of extension work. The students concerned in such an investigation as this are able to unite practical observation with informed discussion; gathering and winnowing their data by the canons of an exact and cautious procedure, they will mature as inquirers of a very different stamp from those who, in the past, have so confidently prescribed for the many-rooted diseases we call Drink, Poverty, and Crime. As in other branches of science, the middleman who takes his facts at second-hand, the writer who is merely an echo, must go. In his stead we have the man who has studied in the field of life, who has not selected facts to support prepossessions, but lets the facts take him whithersoever they will.

Observing how the welfare of the bee is more and more bound up with the good of the hive, the universities are establishing chairs or instructorships in sociology,—as at Brown, Chicago, Columbia, Cornell, Harvard, Stanford and Yale. And in all the universities the teachers of economic and political science are giving the social aspects of their studies fuller development. Under such leadership the day approaches when, allowing for the greater complexity of his problems, the deductions of the sociologist will share the respect paid to the diagnosis of the physician, or even to the judgments of the engineer.

But a pressing question remains: How can the accredited body of social science we already possess be made vital to the great mass of the young who go no farther than the public schools? To begin at the beginning, the uncounted thousands of teachers in this country who take pride in keeping their schools bright, clean and sweet, are enlisted for social science although they may not suspect it,—they are giving an eloquent lesson in hygiene. It is simply iniquitous that the greatest of our cities should in this particular afford the worst example. Were the schools of New York roomy instead of overcrowded, provided with pure instead of tainted air, and inexpensively adorned in good taste, the children of her tenement-houses could go home with the desire and the will to better their home surroundings. As the facts stand, the tenement is often more wholesome in its atmosphere and attractive in its appointments than the school. But to dismiss incident for essence, in so far as the school makes an all-around appeal to faculty, and sensibly draws it out, the school is doing its best work for social betterment. The newer courses of education which fully discover a child to itself, the instruction in the use of pencil and tool, the lessons in cooking and the care of the home, the stimulus to observation,

experiment and invention, all mean the generous tilth of human nature which banishes social disease by refusing it a lodging-place. When in plastic and decisive years the most and best is made of a girl or boy, the life work will be more fruitful and better enjoyed because more wisely chosen. It is therefore at the very threshold of education that its last word of research has most value. To make available the latest results in the art and science of teaching, President G. Stanley Hall would establish in union with Clark University a school for young children, to serve as a model for public schools throughout America. The economic importance of the proposal becomes clear when we learn that there is annually expended for the lower education in the United States no less a sum than \$140,000,000. An experiment station that would give wiser direction to this vast outlay is certainly worth founding. Should the suggested school take form, it would place special stress on the training of character, a sphere in which much is already done, although in an unsystematic way. Wherever the discipline is firm, just and kind; where, as in the schools of Minneapolis, the children perform tasks co-operatively; where, as in the Workingman's School of New York, the elder children mend clothes for their juniors, and otherwise serve and aid them, a character responsive to social duty is formed, there is cultivation of that ground of public spirit and public virtue which consists in finding pleasure by conferring it. That educators to-day are alive as never before to the fact that conscience needs ordered culture quite as much as body and mind has been discerned by the publishing fraternity. Within the past three years at least a score of text-books have appeared in America intended to outline moral education in schools. Of such of these works as I have examined, the best is Professor Felix Adler's "Moral Instruction of Children," in which he shows how the work of primary education can be informed by a spirit of justice, truth and fellowship. It is his hope that the day is at hand when formal lessons on conduct will become needless through the ethicization of the school as a whole. When the commands of righteousness cease to be only verbal and are given contents, when the paths of duty opened by the teacher are found to be delightful as well as straight, the labors of the social reformer will be fewer, and for such tasks as remain he will have aid from new contingents of equipped and sympathetic minds.

Apart from such general and indirect consonance with the spirit of social science as a good school always enjoys, can the teacher make

social science a theme for direct and specific instruction? Yes, and without adding to courses already apt to be burdensome. The threat of cholera, for example, could at such a time as this, be made the text for a brief talk on the preventability of disease by personal cleanliness and the public cleanliness which springs therefrom. Not only public health, but the judicious care of the criminal and the destitute arise in the course of studying such a text-book of citizenship as Macy's "Our Government." The author of that capital work has told the teachers of his State (Iowa) that he hopes soon to see a book such as his no longer needed—teachers and pupils working together to collect for themselves the materials necessary for the comprehension of civil government. He believes that such knowledge should be drunk in by every child along with its geography and history. An indication this of what the new education means, and a hint as to how social science may best be brought before girls and boys. Let an unprogrammed and timely word be suggested by a current event of interest to the listeners,—the inaugural of a United Charities Building, the tearing down by civic authority of unsanitary tenements (both of which have recently occurred in New York)—and an interest beyond the ward or the city can be easily cultivated. If a word on occasion can be spoken to the school by some worker in the social field, so much the better, the one need being that the talk, as informal as possible, have a thread of connection with others in a series and with the work of the school.

The ideal of modern education, it thus appears, is that every child be made the most of in body, mind and character; that the leaders in thought and research hospitably proffer truth and inspiration to all the people, to the end that every man and woman of us may have the usefulness and the joy which will spring from a social life brought to an ordered unity.

Beside the school stands an agency for social betterment which within the past twenty years has undergone equal transformation, the church. To-day the emphasis of Christianity is placed upon life rather than creed, and not salvation alone, but how to make souls better worth the saving is the concern of the pastor. Churches are now centres of growing institutional activity, as often educational or philanthropic as purely religious. For the more or less secular branches of its work the parish of St. George's in New York has no fewer than thirty-one clubs and associations. Admirable as church work of this kind usually is, it rises to a new level of usefulness when some of the

men and women who take part in it are connected with the city, state or national organizations whose purpose is not simply the palliation of evil, but the laying the axe at its root. Every city church should be linked with the work of charity organization, and have some suitable means of learning the results attained by representative agencies for social reform such as those now meeting in the congresses of Chicago. In this way there is an outlook beyond the bounds of the parish, with the effect that work within the parish can be the more intelligently done.

In an increasing but still small proportion, candidates for the ministry are being trained at the universities; and there the future clergyman finds an open door for the study of social science. In response to a canvass among theological seminaries thirty out of forty report a similar opportunity, commonly, however, much less ample. The Chicago [Congregational] Theological Seminary has the honor to be the first to create a special department of sociology. The courses at Andover in this branch of study are so thorough and excellent as to deserve special praise. On lines of much promise the Protestant Episcopal Church has recently formed a Christian Social Union, whose quarterly bulletin, published at Madison, Wisconsin, develops a programme whereby social philosophy can be fruitfully woven into the thought and work of a parish. In the pulpits of some of our city churches it is customary to invite addresses from laymen who have won distinction in the field of social and political reform. New York has recently heard in this way Hon. Carroll D. Wright, Commissioner of Labor at Washington, and two leaders in civil service reform, Hon. Dorman B. Eaton and William D. Foulke. Happy is it when there is a hearing for the message such men deliver, when public duty and social progress are known as branches of true religion.

As a power in education the press has reached a height whence it may well dispute the primacy of school or pulpit. Simply as an incident to its chronicling of news the daily journal is an impressive teacher of social science. When we read in the press of Chicago that the Illinois Central Railroad Company affords its employees a chance to buy shares in installments, or in the newspapers of Boston that a model tenement company in that city divides six per cent. per annum; or in the journals of St. Louis that at the works founded and directed by Mr. N. O. Nelson a steadily increasing percentage of the shares is passing to the hands of the workers, we are getting social science in its

most effective form. The pity of it is that such news has rarely other than local publication. There is a hint for us here in the activity which returns with every fourth year of political conflict. Then it is that we see the protectionist and the tariff reformer take off their coats to give the widest currency to every fact and argument that will tell in the fight. Let me outline for you the work carried on by a New York club during a recent campaign. A press committee was organized with a journalist of experience and resource for its chairman. He made a canvass of the press throughout the country, of course with special pains in New York, ascertaining which papers were friendly to his side of the tariff issue and in what degree, noting the while the special industries and interests of each locality. This done, he had his committee write timely arguments in various degrees of condensation and send each to the editors likely to accept it. To country papers using plate, that is, stereotyped matter, he sent articles in that economical form. Well aware that readers prefer news to anything else, whenever there was a happening that would tell on his side of the battle, an offensive partisan was in the midst that the story might be a million times repeated. Yet more, the political leanings of every man with a ballot in rural New York were sought out, together with his means of livelihood, to the end that out of an ample variety of campaign pamphlets he might receive just those he would be likely to read. So much for the alliance of the press with party politics, cannot the example be imitated for non-partisan social reform? Were a press bureau established with a competent journalist for its chief, and supplied with a fund no larger than that needed to maintain a city school or church, a vast service could be rendered social advance. One of the curious facts about that advance is its tendency to localize itself, a tendency which a press bureau could strive to correct. Across the Atlantic, for example, we see co-operation thrive in Germany in the form of loan associations, in France as societies for production, in Great Britain as agencies for distribution. And the tendency goes farther still, as where we find the co-operative store thriving mightily in Lancashire and Yorkshire, and scarcely known in Devonshire. In the same way the building and loan associations have taken so strong a grasp of Philadelphia that their model dwelling at the World's Fair can be labelled "one of 172,000." All this while Brooklyn, a city almost as populous as Philadelphia, and less than a hundred miles away, finds its working people under the scarcely challenged reign of

the landlord. In a totally different line of public and social progress two leading States of the Union, adjoining each other, present a contrast quite as striking. In Massachusetts 97 per cent. of the population are served by public libraries, for the most part free; New York in her two chief cities has yet to establish public libraries worthy the name. In spheres remote from the building of homes or the public provision of literature an advance guard of social workers is bettering the lot of the weak, redeeming the lives of the outcast. Their experience and the conclusions derived from that experience are often of extreme popular interest; as a rule they are entombed in annual reports and the like, faithfully sent to a wide circle of editors, only to be cast aside. At a press bureau the kernel of all this information could be seized upon when new and fresh, could be given inviting form, and transmitted to every journal which could reasonably be expected to print it.

However much social well-being has been advanced by the purposeful efforts of reform, its chief debt after all is due to the inventors who have served society as an incident to helping themselves. to the demands which have sprung up in the wake of scientific discovery. An American loom to-day is more elaborate and costly, more highly speeded than ever; therefore the operative who tends it must be sober. The press which strikes off your morning paper is worth a fortune; an unsteady touch from a tipsy printer can delay an edition beyond the mailing hour. Because the tonnage of an express train was never so great as now, its speed never before so high, the army in charge of engine-lever, of track, switch and semaphore must be clearheaded in the highest possible degree; hence it is that one railroad company after another joins itself to the cold water brigade. In a less striking way we see the obligation of strict sobriety laid upon manipulators of keyed machines for type-writing, textile-designing, type-setting and casting, and rapid telegraphy; in every case the inexorable demand is for quickness and an accuracy incompatible with alcoholic indulgence. Plainly enough a young man who to-day forms the liquor habit narrows his opportunities more decidedly than was ever before possible in the history of industry. In addition to the help thus brought him by the unwitting partnership of the inventor, the social reformer receives aid, more important still, from the men of enterprise who impress invention into the service of the country as a means of personal gain. Behind the pervasive agitation for good roads, which during

the past five years has accomplished so much, has stood the interest of the bicycle manufacturers. And the abundance of their reward is disclosed by the notable decline they have within the year been able to make in their prices, under stress of foreign competition. As with common roads so with the lines of transport which join home and work for the city toiler. Within the past three years many of our cities have been doubled in area at a bound by the superseding of the railroad horse by the electric motor. Has this come about through spontaneous appreciation of what electricity can do in enlarging the boundaries of suburbs, in giving poor men a new chance to own homes? Not a bit of it. The demand for electric transit has followed upon an adroit and thorough education of the people, chiefly by the concerns which earn portly dividends by building and installing electric plant. Mark the principal officer of one of the companies engaged in this field, an engineer of the best training, an accomplished writer and speaker, and withal a gentleman of the utmost social charm. From preliminary advocacy in the press to negotiations with local capitalists, and the securing of franchises, this man is a general in ability, a diplomat in address. Is it any wonder that as he goes about the country success attends him? He has a lesson for us. In social reform, the end of social science, there has been too much of a passive policy. We live in times of tactful and persistent solicitation, when people scarcely buy shoes or loaves except on request. A recent congress in Chicago was that of the commercial travelers, of whom there are 360,000 in this country; in large areas of the business world the printed page breaks the ground, but the seed must be sown by the sower in person. We are familiar with the energy displayed by the manufacturer when new water-works require engines, or by the electric company when it wishes city streets for its poles and wires; we should see less discrepancy between our industrial and social progress were the same activity shown by the social reformer. It has been said for a great many years that when capital and labor are identified in the individual, their conflict must of necessity cease. In a large factory at Le Claire, Illinois, near St. Louis, Mr. N. O. Nelson has proved the proposition true. Were he, or some other organizer of the same type, able to take the field, with the aim of converting to his view specific groups of employers and workmen, success would undoubtedly be won. What is true of profit-sharing is true of other and very different remedies for social ills. Mr. W. M. F. Round, Secretary of the New York Prison Association,

has devoted his life to the study of the criminal, of the best methods of treating the criminal in prison and afterwards. Would that he could go about this country on a tour of organized agitation, that public opinion could be educated as to how crime might be abated and the prisoner redeemed! So also with the rescue of destitute children, so nobly planned in New York by the late Mr. Charles Loring Brace. His son continues the work, which might well be the subject of an educational campaign in every city where it has not been copied. In New York City this work of child-rescue has been greatly indebted to Mr. Jacob A. Riis, who, in addition to services as a writer, has delivered scores of illustrated lectures to up-town audiences. His pictures from life of children before and since redemption have stirred the most apathetic men and women to a new sense of duty. This question of dealing with the destitute in cities suggests the larger problem of city government. Here again the reformer calls the camera to his aid. Last winter at Cooper Union in New York, Mr. Albert Shaw, editor of the *Review of Reviews*, gave a series of lectures on London, Glasgow, Berlin, Vienna, Buda-Pesth, Paris, Rome, and other cities of Europe, showing how much these cities are in advance of our own in the scope and efficiency of municipal government. To most of those who heard Mr. Shaw, it was news indeed that the provision of cheap light and transit, the care of laundries and adequate baths, the replacement of unhealthy slums by wholesome dwellings, all by the municipality, is not the dream of theorists, but the established fact in cities much less rich than New York, Brooklyn and Buffalo, and quite as populous. Is it objected that in America we can not trust our municipal officers as Europeans can trust theirs? Let the people fully awaken to what they are missing through the lack of character that condemns them to the mercy of the private monopolist and the civic plunderer, and there will soon be a change for the better. That change must perforce be part of a larger and higher movement. Its leaders will be the teacher and the clergyman, the reformer in the field and the journalist, the agitator of business training,—their following will be every man and woman who wishes to make the world what it easily can be.

THE STUDY OF CRIMINOLOGY.

PROFESSOR GEO. G. WILSON, PH. D., BROWN UNIVERSITY.

Scope of this paper.—Europe has devoted much time to the study of criminology in its various phases. The United States has been quick to appreciate and profit by the conclusions of European scholars. Many of the institutions of this country bear witness to the value of European investigations. Italy, Austria-Hungary, Germany and France have given to the world the results of sound study, yet the other nations have not been idle.

As to what criminology is, authorities differ. To criminology in its broadest sense, or, as some would say, to criminology and allied subjects, it is the purpose of this paper to direct attention. Furthermore, it is the object to confine the consideration to the study of criminology as a part of the curriculum in the larger institutions of learning of some of the countries of Europe. The grand work of the institutions of other countries and of private investigators cannot even be mentioned. Indeed, there is only a hint at the work done in the universities of the few countries here considered.

Growth of the study.—Not many years ago the word criminology was strange. Now criminology itself is breaking up into various departments, of which the number varies with the breadth of the definition. Subjects allied to criminology are found in the courses of all the leading universities. Criminal jurisprudence, criminal anthropology, penal law, medical jurisprudence, biological criminology, sociological criminology, cosmic criminology, and the like, are the subjects of lectures presenting various phases of the question of the criminal and his treatment. To criminal anthropology, the general subject of criminology, as well as sociology, owes much. The advance in criminal anthropology has been especially rapid in the last ten years. The First International Congress of Criminal Anthropology met at Rome in 1885. Studies carried on in the institutions of learning and investigations by professors in such institutions made the work of this and succeeding congresses possible and

valuable. The congresses of 1889 at Paris, and 1892 at Brussels, have shown progress and added stimulus to the investigation of the causes and prevention of crime. The distinguished men who have participated in these congresses have done much to render instruction in criminology in some of its forms common in the universities of Europe. Naturally different schools of criminology have come into existence. Some believe in a criminal type, others do not. Discussion has become common and a corresponding advance in the general understanding of the subject has accompanied this interest. Many universities have been compelled to offer courses in criminology. The professional class was by far most numerous at the congress of 1885, but at the congress of 1892 the number of other classes showed the growing and widespread interest in criminal anthropology.

The international prison congresses have been another factor in stimulating interest in the study of crime. The investigations of the members of these congresses have usually been from a point of view different from that taken by the congresses of criminal anthropology. The interest aroused by these prison congresses has been wide and valuable.

The recent studies in hypnotism, physiological psychology and kindred subjects have brought important results for criminology.

The International Penal Law Association is now making studies in penal laws of various countries which will bear rich fruits. Other societies, associations and bodies of men are adding to the total knowledge which will be necessary for the best understanding of criminology in the broad sense. As early as 1889 one congress reported it the general agreement that medical studies, such as might be called criminological, should be taken, when possible, as auxiliary to the course in jurisprudence.

The study of criminology in general.—The courses have gradually broadened, till the amount and nature of the instruction varies greatly in different countries, in different institutions, and even in the same institutions under the several professors. The institutions of some countries emphasize the study of the criminal himself, others do more in the study of his treatment and its effects. Some institutions direct the main attention to the consideration of the results of criminological investigations in other countries and to their criminal laws. Where crime is regarded as wholly or in part the product of disease or as a disease in itself, more attention is given to criminal medicine. Where

crime is considered due to defective social and political organization, more attention is given to the legal remedies and to penology.

Private investigators are touching upon all the points in almost every country, but it is the purpose of this paper to confine attention to instruction in the higher institutions of learning, and of these, to those institutions which might be called national. The consideration will be further limited to portions of Europe.

Subjects of instruction, methods and instructors.—Criminology from the legal standpoint is a very general subject of instruction. By the constitution of the University of Christiania, Norway, 1824, criminology is one of the subjects for the official law examination. At this university instruction is usually given by some distinguished jurist. The list of lecturers upon this subject has included some of the most distinguished Norwegian names. The legal side has been emphasized but not to the exclusion of other points of view.

At Christiania one of the law professors usually gives instruction in criminology as auxiliary to jurisprudence. Such men as Professor Schweigaard and Professor Getz, now Royal Advocate, have done eminent service here. The number of students taking such courses ranges from 150 to 200.

In Sweden, at the Universities of Upsala and Lund, criminal jurisprudence receives careful attention. A comparison of the penal laws of various countries, and a scientific study of penology are made. Criminology is treated from a philosophical, historical and comparative standpoint. Earlier, later, domestic and foreign systems receive this treatment. Freedom, independent work and thought on the part of the student are encouraged, and meritorious work receives due recognition.

To those students desiring to take the scientific law examinations at Upsala and Lund special courses are offered. These courses may cover one or more semesters. At Upsala the attendance upon some of these courses is not compulsory. Examinations upon these auxiliary subjects are held. There is now under consideration, but not yet presented for royal approval, a revision of the courses in law at Upsala which will introduce advanced ideas. The lecture system at Lund is supplemented by the *Collegium*, held daily for special and more minute study in legislation and practice. The attendance varies from fifty to ninety. The drift and tendency of modern criminological thought receives

special attention. These courses are conducted by Dr. J. Hagströmer at Upsala and by Dr. P. Assarsson at Lund, or in their absence by their assistants.

While criminology has not been taught so fully as a distinct branch in Belgium, yet valuable results have been achieved, as is shown by the work of the students of the University of Brussels, who united in a "Group for the Study of Criminology," with the able Inspector-General of Prisons as honorary president. "*La Revue Universitaire*," has published some of the transactions of this "Group."

In the Netherlands, as in the other countries, students preparing for the legal profession may take courses in *medicina forensis*. The general course of candidates for the degrees of D. C. L. and LL. D. in the Netherlands embraces study of penal law, penal claims and *medicina forensis*.

The aim is to prepare the student to meet the thought which the study of criminology is now forcing upon men in public life. The biological side of criminology is gradually gaining ground.

From five to seven hours per week are devoted to the study of general penal administration and law in the Netherlands universities. Its bearing on fraud, thrift, etc. is the subject of special study. Two hours per week are given to special study of the Netherlands Code and its application. Beside these courses, there are courses in medical jurisprudence open to students of law and medicine. These embrace the medical inspection of corpses, study of manner of death, hypnotism in its various relations, child murder, criminal physiology and various other subjects of which the lawyer would need a knowledge. The number of students in attendance upon these courses varies in the different universities from small groups to classes of eighty. The following table shows the courses in the various universities.

THE NETHERLANDS UNIVERSITIES.*

UNIVERSITY.	PROFESSOR.	SUBJECTS.	Approximate Number of Students.
Leyden, . .	Prof. Mr. H. van der Hoeven.	Penal Law & Penal Claims.	35
	Prof. Dr. D. E. Liegenbeck, van Henkelom.	<i>Medicina forensis.</i>	40 med. stud. 30 law "
Utrecht, . .	Prof. Mr. M. S. Pols.	Penal Law & Penal Claims.	17
	Prof. Dr. G. van Overbeck de Meyer.	<i>Medicina forensis.</i>	20
Groningen, .	Prof. Mr. I. Domela Niemenhuis.	Penal Law & Penal Claims.	8
	Prof. Dr. A. P. Fokker.	<i>Medicina forensis.</i>	37
Amsterdam,	Prof. Mr. G. A. van Hamel.	Penal Law and Claims.	20 & 18
	Prof. Dr. H. Kuhn.	<i>Medicina forensis.</i>	80

The study of criminology in Switzerland has been extensive and deserves notice. As in the case of other countries, adequate space cannot be given to the consideration of the many points of interest.

In the Swiss institutions of learning, instruction in criminology usually belongs to the province of the science of penal justice. This has received great attention especially in the last few years. Under the title *Kriminal politik* special courses are given at Zürich and Berne by Dr. Emil Zürcher and Prof. Dr. Karl Stooss respectively.

Beside the above professors, lectures upon kindred subjects are given by Prof. Dr. Heinrich Pfenninger at Zürich, Prof. Dr. Xaver Gretener and Dr. Walter Lauterberg at Berne, Prof. Dr. Albert Teichmann and Prof. Dr. Oppenheim at Basel, Prof. Dr. Alfred Gautier at Geneva, Prof. Dr. Favey at Lucerne, Prof. Dr. Lorckens at Freiburg, Prof. Dr. F. H. Mentha at Neuenburg.

Of course, the legal side of criminology is specially emphasized, yet the other phases of the subject are not neglected, as is shown by recent publications. The great variety of systems in the different cantons made the study of criminal and penal law with related subjects a matter of great importance and difficulty.

*From the Department of the Interior, Netherlands, through courtesy of the Hon. S. R. Thayer. The writer would here acknowledge his obligation to the ministers of the countries mentioned, as well as to the professors in the various universities.

A comparative compilation of the penal laws of the cantons, "*Die Schweizerischen Strafgesetzbücher*," issued under the direction of Prof. Dr. Stooss in 1890, furnishes material of the highest value. "*Die Grundzüge des Schweizerischen Strafrechts*," 2 vols., 1892 and 1893, also by Prof. Dr. Stooss, forms a worthy addition to the preceding. These three volumes, prepared by order of the federal government, are to be followed by further governmental investigations along similar lines and a commission has just been named for that purpose. The universities are training men for such scientific labor for the government and in turn are receiving the benefits of the research. The method of treatment of the criminal, the study of the criminal himself, receive careful attention. The Swiss Penal Review covers a broad field touching upon penal law, procedure, judicial organization, execution of penalties, police, legal medicine and psychiatry, criminal statistics and sociology. This Review is now in its sixth year, and numbers among its contributors some of the ablest students and foremost authorities on the subjects of which it treats.

Systematic work in criminology and hearty co-operation of the authorities is a marked characteristic of Swiss study. The bibliography of recent works in the line of criminology is a proof of the growing interest in the subject. The peculiar state of Swiss penal law due to the cantonal system has added impetus to the study of criminology. This study has had, and seems destined to have, the most far reaching and beneficial results.

The example of Switzerland amply deserves an entire paper for its treatment.* It is hoped, however, that this sketch will indicate, in some small measure, the admirable work done in recent years in Switzerland.

In Russia questions of criminology and kindred subjects are arousing the liveliest interest. Some of the most eminent professors are giving to such questions careful treatment. The course offered by Professor J. J. Foinitsky of the Imperial University at St. Petersburg was, without doubt, the first upon the concrete subject. He now gives a course studying in detail the cosmic, psychic and social forces in their influence upon criminal action, and also the forces determining the composition and elements of the criminal population. This distinguished professor also gives attention to the administration and organization of prisons,

* A paper upon this subject was read before the American Social Science Association, September, 1893.

the effects of various systems and penalties, preventive measures and the like.

The late Professor Thalberg at Kiev, and Professor Poustorosleff at Moscow, have given similar courses. The study of the subject of juvenile offenders is careful. Professors Bogdanovsky, Tagantseff, Kistiakovsky, Nékliondoff have made valuable additions to criminological literature. At the different universities and higher institutions of learning where criminal law is taught, the subject of criminology receives some attention.

At the University of St. Petersburg there is a museum specially fitted to aid in the study of penology. The germ of this museum was the exhibition made at the Fourth International Prison Congress, 1890. This museum forms a valuable auxiliary as it contains models of institutions, implements of punishment, plans of prisons, transport ships, products of prison labor, photographs of criminals, photographs of tattooing upon criminals and a library of books bearing on the criminal and his treatment.

Instruction is also given in medical jurisprudence, criminal statistics and criminal anthropology at the various universities in so far as the extent of the curriculum affords opportunity. While the study of criminology in a systematic manner is comparatively recent, the amount and quality of the work done is surprising. The interest in the subject is growing daily and scientific methods of study become more and more common.

Public opinion shows the influence of these studies. The effect of environment is more and more studied. They would go much farther than the school of Lombroso in the belief in educational influences. Modifications in the punishments naturally follow the study of crime and the criminal. Special societies have taken up such studies as the relation of hypnotism to crime and crimes committed by women. Legislation and administration are influenced by this work in the universities. A revised criminal code will be issued. In fact, Russia, like the other countries of Europe, is feeling the influence of the careful investigation which the question of crime is receiving at home and throughout the world.*

* The writer regrets that he cannot give in full the admirable account of the work done in Russia, which Professor Foinitsky has furnished and forwarded through the courtesy of Hon. Andrew D. White.

• *Results of the study.*—The results of this study cannot be measured nor its influence followed in all its course; yet certain effects can be traced more or less directly to university training. The greatest results are seen in the legislation directed to prevent and remedy the evils of society. While less attention may have been given to the study of the criminal himself in the northwestern section of Europe than in some other sections, yet the result of the study of others is appreciated and study in other lines has been carried far. The rearrangement of university curricula and the introduction of new courses show the tendency to emphasize the study of criminology. The distinguished men occupying professors' chairs make certain that the influence will be felt. Indeed the influence is acknowledged. As one of the leading professors writes, "through the interesting of the coming generation of lawyers in scientific criminology we shall accomplish reforms." The governments recognize the value of this scientific knowledge when from professors' chairs they appoint men who have had great interest in the training of students in criminology to be Royal Advocates as in the case of Professor Getz in Norway. Nearly all the professors say that in some forms, even though it be only in more intelligent legislation, the results of the courses of study are becoming more and more evident. The law courts, too, bear witness to the treatment of the criminal from a scientific point of view. The question is not merely, "has he broken the law of the state," but "why has he broken the law, are there elements in his physical make-up, or circumstances in his environment, which make this the normal method of action." Medical treatment is often more needed than prison discipline. Public hanging has gradually been abolished. The punishment by death is a subject of much discussion. As the leaders in public life are usually from the universities, naturally what is taught in the universities has a powerful influence in moulding public policy. In the case of the criminal administration the Netherlands afford an excellent example. On September 1, 1886, the Penal Code, which had existed since the days of French sovereignty, "together with a large number of special and generally antiquated penal laws" was repealed. This was followed by a new code embracing the newer ideas of penology and criminology. Subsequent modifications may be traced to the influence of universities, where the impartial study shows what is needed. The new code itself was largely compiled by university professors. Of these, "Professor Modderman, becoming Minister of Justice,

advocated and defended the measure during its passage through the States-General."

Thus the results of university training and study in criminology and allied branches exert a direct and beneficial influence upon the whole social body. The highest results are not yet realized. The seed planted from year to year will bear more and more fruit. While other countries of the continent are doing valuable work, the countries of northwestern Europe are not idle, but are contributing a share to the thought, study and application of modern criminological principles. That there is need of still more attention to the study of criminology in universities in general is undoubted. Some countries where the study has hitherto been entirely neglected, or passed by with a few disconnected lectures, might well give heed to the results attained by those countries which have made criminology a subject for the consideration of the best minds of the nation.

SOCIOLOGICAL WORK IN THEOLOGICAL SEMINARIES.

PROFESSOR GRAHAM TAYLOR, CHICAGO THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

The facts reported in this paper and the suggestions it may contain have been derived from the data gathered by correspondence with and personal observation of thirty-five institutions for the training of the Christian ministry, clerical and lay, in the United States.*

They include the largest and most representative theological seminaries and training schools in the country, and may safely be considered to comprehend in their curricula practically all the sociological instruction provided by the churches for preparing their ministries.

A careful tabulation of the information thus ascertained groups the facts about the following points of interest: I. The date and manner of the introduction of sociological study in theological seminaries. II. The provision made by them for teaching and training in sociology. III. The scope and method of the instruction given. IV. Suggestions as to the limits, aim and method of the study. V. The justification and development of sociological departments in theological seminaries.

I. The very recent admission of sociological instruction to the theological seminary curriculum, and the social awakening within the church which it indicates, are the foremost facts to which attention should be directed. The most diligent inquiry discovers scarcely any trace of attention to sociological topics in institutions specifically devoted to the training of the ministry prior to 1880. After that date the work of the regular instructors is found to be sup-

*For the correspondence from which most of the data referred to in this paper was derived, the writer is indebted to Professor-elect W. F. Blackman of Yale Divinity School, who had made it the basis of a paper on *The Study of Social Science in Theological Seminaries*, which was read before the American Institute of Christian Philosophy, March 1, 1892, and was published in *Christian Thought*, the journal of the Institute. Later and wider information was precluded by the fact that the assignment of the subject was made too late to allow a thorough investigation subsequent thereto.

plemented, with increasing frequency, by single lectures on social problems on special occasions by volunteer representatives of reformatory and philanthropic movements. Then follow lecture courses by appointed lecturers, some of them upon the established financial foundations which had previously provided supplemental instruction on more distinctively theological themes, others being furnished by funds contributed especially for the purpose. Elective courses were first offered at Harvard Divinity School in 1880 on the ethics of the social question, at Andover Theological Seminary in 1887 on social economics, and at Yale Divinity School in 1892 on Christian social ethics.

The introduction of sociology into the prescribed course was announced first by Hartford Theological Seminary in 1888. The establishment of the first department to be exclusively devoted to sociology was initiated by the Chicago Theological Seminary in 1890. An instructorship was then created, which developed in 1892 into a full professorship with prescribed and elective courses. The Young Men's Christian Association Training School at Springfield, Mass., opened a course on Christian sociology under an instructor of its own in 1893. Yale Divinity School has a professor of sociology under appointment, who enters upon his duties in 1894.

These beginnings have been attended by developments in other institutions, which will be subsequently referred to. Small though they are, they indicate the rise of a mighty social movement within the churches, which while quiet, unrecognized and hardly conscious of its own existence as yet, is deep, pervasive, intensely practical, eager to learn and destined to prevail.

It is already re-ordaining the ministry to new service. It is rededicating the churches to a new mission to humanity. It is reconstructing ecclesiastical architecture to new and more practical week-day purposes. It is recovering the obscured ideal of a priestly people, a ministering membership. It is re-interpreting the eclipsed world-terms of Christianity's great commission. It is re-applying the old gospel of glad tidings to new conditions of society. It is a reproclamation of the kingdom of God on earth, with the fatherhood of God as its centre and the brotherhood of man as its bond. It is demanding and will have its science of the new society as surely as life finds its rescript in literature and learning.

The late development of sociological science accounts for its recent advent into the church's training schools for her old and original social

service. Both are due to the lack of two casual conditions, one practical, the other pedagogical, upon which sociological development necessarily depends. The slow establishment of the independence of the individual had to be awaited before such a society could exist as would either be capable of producing or worthy of possessing a science of its own existence. As a free and progressive society predicates personal freedom, so the consciousness of individual independence is a fundamental condition of any social consciousness adequate to develop a science of our interdependence. Man had to be emancipated from that ancient solidarity of the race in which he virtually lost self-consciousness, in which the child knew no rights that the parent was bound to respect, the subject no existence apart from the community or the will of its sovereign, the man no individuality that emerged from the mass. Without that very individualism, from the extremes of which the sociological movement is a natural and necessary reaction, sociology has not been and could not be. Dr. William T. Harris has well written:

"Social life is the realization of ideal man in a far higher sense than the life of the mere individual realizes it. Thinking reason, a rational moral will, a religious culture in the soul, are not of the particular man, but they are the ideal of the species, and denote the ascent of the individual into the species. This ascent of the individual into the species, which is not a loss of his individuality, but a deepening of individuality into personality, is the unique phenomenon found in social science."

The discovery of self-hood is the preliminary mission of Christianity, the partial fulfilment of which is but preparatory to the development and realization of the kingdom in which alone it finds its consummation. It had to demand, "What shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his own life," before it could impress upon the man its last command to "go into all the world and preach the Gospel to the whole creation." That incalculable worth of the individual life it has established among men never to perish from the earth. And now its "present truth," the truth demanded by the needs and the cravings of to-day is, as has well been said, "the proclamation of the kingdom of God, the revelation of God to men in social relations and social duties, the presence of God in the perplexities, the problems, even the convulsions of society."

To open the sociological field to the general or the professional student a pedagogical condition was essential. Only the progress of the practical purpose in education could find a place in the curriculum of the college or seminary for the science of society. As the predominant emphasis of educators has passed from abstract ideas to the phenomena of nature and thence to the human personality, the study of man's physical and social surroundings has forced itself upon scholars and teachers, until the formulation of the facts and principles of human association into a science has become an educational necessity. This practical purpose now tends to a two-fold development. On the one hand the life-spheres which environ men are coming to be regarded not separately, but as an organic whole, as structures of a common social life, as an "organism composed of interdependent parts performing functions essential to the life of the whole." On the other hand education seeks the adjustment of the whole man and his whole environment to each other by developing the sciences of the human personality and of its historical, political, economic, social, ethical and spiritual relationships upon the groundwork of the co-ordinating and unifying science of sociology.

II. Among the provisions made in the seminaries for sociological work perhaps the most significant is the establishment in institutions exclusively devoted to ministerial training of departments of sociology in charge of professors whose whole time is given to the specialty.

Three institutions report the founding of such departments, namely, Chicago Theological Seminary, The Young Men's Christian Association Training School at Springfield, Mass., and Yale Divinity School.

No more emphatic or practical evidence of the social awakening within the church could be desired than the assumption of the financial support of the new departments in two of the three institutions without endowment, and the admission of the new science to the same institutional status as the old departments have so long maintained, even at the cost to them of the time required for the added branch.

Second only to this, and yet both chronologically and causally precedent to it, is the advantage taken by divinity schools of courses in sociology in colleges or universities with which they are connected. Almost all these schools, related to or in the vicinity of academic institutions, afford their students at least the privilege of taking some of the sociological lectures offered by them. It was at first, however, only a permissive privilege, without apparent effort either to prompt and direct

the student's choice of these optional studies or to co-ordinate them in any way with their theological course.

A more systematic relationship between these courses was first realized at Harvard Divinity School. The elective course in the ethics of the social question, which had been started for the divinity students as early as 1880, was thrown open to the other departments of the University in 1882, and the topics of this course are now officially announced alike in the theological and academic curricula. At Union Theological Seminary the lecture schedule was changed so as to allow its students to avail themselves of the opportunities at Columbia College and New York University. The "better students" are reported to be seeking the privileges of the course on sociology and political science at Columbia. At Oberlin the professor of political economy offered the Seminary students optionals in social science. In the University of Chicago the divinity students may include the university electives in theoretical and applied sociology in their regular theological course.

Sociological study as a distinctly differentiated branch, has been introduced into the regular prescribed theological course of very few seminaries. Only five report this to be the fact, namely, Hartford, Seabury Divinity School, Chicago Theological Seminary, Cobb Divinity School and Ryder Divinity School. In several other institutions, however, so large a proportion of the students take the electives offered in sociology that few fail to secure some instruction in this branch.

Elective courses in specified lines of social science or specific social problems are offered in nine theological seminaries by professors in the dogmatic or practical departments, namely, Andover, Boston University Divinity School, Chicago Theological Seminary (in addition to its prescribed course), Chicago University Divinity School, Harvard University Divinity School, Hartford Theological Seminary (in addition to its prescribed course). Newton Theological Seminary, Oberlin Theological Seminary, Union Theological Seminary.

It is not to be forgotten that not a little sociological instruction is a necessary incident to the teaching of dogmatic and pastoral theology. Special attention to the sociological aspects of these branches is reported to have been given in some cases for many years, in others with increased emphasis within two or three years. As substitutes for confessedly inadequate provision or as supplemental to instruction regularly afforded, several institutions provide lectures on sociological topics by representatives of social, charitable and reformatory interests. They

range from the occasional single lecture to the special courses and the annual lectureships regularly recurring in each seminary year. Noteworthy among the courses regularly provided are those given at Andover by undergraduate students on special scholarships, which afford the opportunity for original investigations, and also the special courses recurring every two or three years, which have produced S. L. Loomis' volume on Modern Cities, and Robert A. Woods' English Social Movements. Mr. Woods also delivers a course of six lectures annually. The sociological direction increasingly given to general lectureships by recent lecturers is significant.

Field-work is a method of sociological training out of which other means for instruction grew in many institutions and which is shown to be necessary by everything that is attempted in the class-room. The department at Chicago Theological Seminary was suggested and necessitated by the students' work in the city-missionary field. So were the courses at Hartford and at several other seminaries, notably at Union Seminary in New York, which in 1887 led off in systematizing the city work as an educational adjunct to the Seminary.

The establishment of post-graduate fellowships in sociology has this year been initiated by the Church University Board of Regents of the Protestant Episcopal Church, who offer to the graduating classes in its divinity schools fellowships of the value of \$750 each, with permission to study at any seat of learning at home or abroad under supervision of the Regents. Previously established fellowships have been assigned by the seminaries on several occasions within the past few years to sociological lines of investigation.

Last of the means for the sociological training of the ministry to be noted, but perhaps the most far reaching of them all, is the social settlement. Andover Seminary is the first theological institution to add to its equipment this invaluable apparatus in the founding of the already well known Andover House, Boston, under the conspicuously competent leadership of Robert A. Woods. The new department of Christian sociology in the Chicago Theological Seminary has, through the generous courtesy of the Hull House, the privilege of nominating post-graduate students to residence in the recently established Hull House Men's Settlement. A Seminary settlement is also about to be established for undergraduates in another locality. Although there is no organic connection between either of these settlements and the seminaries for whose benefit they primarily exist, yet the relation

between the settlement and the seminary promises to be all the more vital and effective for being personal.

III. Of the sociological instruction actually given in theological seminaries it is difficult to gain or give any definite information. The responses to inquiries as to topics taught, and methods of instruction employed, were so very general as to make it impracticable to attempt any outline of the courses pursued, or classification of the topics treated, or details of the method employed, or even a report on the number of hours devoted to the subject. To the credit of these training schools of the churches, be it said, however, that not one of them disavows responsibility for sociological teaching. Not more than two or three of their representatives manifest indifference toward it; very many, who could report little or no such work, do so with the expression of the deepest regret and the profoundest conviction of the imperative need of it; while all who are attempting to combine work on these lines with their exacting duties in other departments of instruction lament the limitation of opportunity and the unsatisfactoriness of results, and several hold the hope of, or enter an earnest appeal for, the establishment of distinct departments of sociology, which will secure the devotion of the whole time of at least one instructor to its work. This plea is so well voiced by the representative of one of the largest and best established of these seminaries that I take the liberty to quote his words:

"We need the work of specialists. The ministry generally and the men of the professions are not prepared by their lines of study to give us much help. They deal in generalities, often very crude. Nor can I find any work that could be well used as a text-book for class instruction. We have not time in our seminaries for exhaustive treatment of the different subjects. Some manual covering concisely most of the themes would be invaluable."

F. H. Stead's Bible class Primer on the Kingdom of God, (J. and J. Clark) and Professor Henderson's recently published text-book on Dependents, Defectives, and Delinquents admirably fill this need in part.

The instruction referred to in the correspondence falls into several groups. One group of topics receives the attention necessarily involved in the discussion of dogmatic theology and Christian ethics, which are usually embraced by the department of systematic theology. Their treatment by this chair in one seminary is denominated "ethical and sociological theology." Another reports "large attention given to the

principles of ethics as developed from the moral law in the direction of social and political action." It specifies as the subjects thus treated "the normal claims of the individual and society, of authority and liberty, of the kingdom of God and the state, of conservatism and progress, of law and expediency, the relations of the family, the rights and duties belonging to property, marriage and divorce, the social evil, murder in its connection with dwellings, suicide, intemperance, etc." Where taught in relation to dogmatic theology, the treatment of these topics is properly and almost necessarily more from the philosophical and theological than from the distinctively sociological viewpoint, and must therefore employ the *a priori* process of logic rather than the inductions from the facts of life.

Another group of topics appears where ethics is differentiated from dogmatic theology and taught in a separate course or by a different teacher. There are added to the subjects reported under the former department "the ethics of social questions," such as marriage, charity, labor, the Indians.

A still broader range of topics is found in the department of practical theology, where under homiletics and pastoral care are defined the relation of the preacher and the pastor to social science, to political economy, to industrial life, to government and politics, to the city, to education, to public health and to the dependent, defective and delinquent classes. The treatment of these relationships in the regular course of lecturing on pastoral theology is confessed to be necessarily fragmentary, "very limited and lacking in consecutiveness."

Owing to dissatisfaction with this incidental treatment, such time has been taken by these professors for specific courses on social economics as could be secured by the abridgment of their lectures on other branches. Great credit is due to the men who, in addition to their already heavy work of teaching and criticism in homiletics, polity and pastoral care, have been able to prepare and conduct courses of prescribed or elective studies such as these: on the social evolution of labor, on cities, on political economy, on the family historically treated, on the causes of and problems arising from the existence of pauperism and crime, on the history of the community as related to its present social condition, political, sanitary, domestic, educational and civic, and to social institutions and influences ranging from homes and churches to trades-unions and lodges, from the public press to popular amusements.

In the instruction provided for divinity students by university faculties, political economy, civics, social ethics, the historical development of institutions, the psychological and philosophical theories of general sociology and the specific social sciences have more extended treatment. The courses announced by the newly established sociological departments in institutions for ministerial training may indicate how they have begun to make use of their larger opportunity.

At the Chicago Theological Seminary the following features are specified: a seminar on the use of sociological periodical literature, and on the observation of social phenomena in the field; prescribed courses on sociological aspects and methods of educational and evangelistic work; elective courses on the evolution of social institutions, economic conditions of social development, pauperism and poverty, penology, municipal economics, the family; prescribed course on general sociology, including studies of the genesis of society, the rise, growth and inter-relationship of the several social structures, of family, industrial, social, political and ecclesiastical life; the pastoral application of sociological principles in church work, and in philanthropic effort for the dependent, defective and delinquent classes; the development of the biblical ideal and the practical realization of the kingdom of God on earth.

The Young Men's Christian Association Training School reports the following course:

Introductory. Christian sociology as a science; its relation to the church and the Young Men's Christian Associations. Christian sociology in history, new as a scientific study, but old as a sympathetic instinct.

Some present-day problems in sociology:

A. The wage-earner in relation to the employer, capital, wages, hours of labor, strikes and lockouts.

B. The pauper and criminal classes. Study of the situation, rescue and redemptive agencies, the function of government, the relation of Christianity and Young Men's Christian Associations to these classes.

This course is supplemented in an invaluable manner by that in the physical department, which gives careful training in physiology, hygiene, personal purity, first aid to the injured, &c.

The lectures supplementary to the regular courses in the several seminaries provide for further discussion of their topics, or additional treatment of philanthropic, reformatory and social developments. The

scholarship lectures at Andover have given the results of original investigations on reformatories, the attitude of labor organizations to socialism, and the bearings of the Sunday question. The annual courses of lectures there have treated modern cities, English social movements, English social reformers. The Carew course at Hartford Seminary includes Dr. Behrend's lectures on socialism and Christianity, and Prof. R. T. Ely's on Church and State. Dr. R. S. Storrs honored the Ely course at Union Seminary by his volume "The Divine Origin of Christianity as indicated in its Historical Results." In the Stone course at Princeton, Dr. R. E. Thompson issued his "Divine Order of Human Society."

It remains to refer to the study and training which the field-work and the social settlement may add to the curriculum of the class-room. In the fields occupied by city missions, parishes, Sunday schools, labor organizations, industrial institutes, police courts, jails, prisons, almshouses and asylums, the seminary may find such a clinic as the medical school has in the hospital. The social settlement affords rare opportunity for the pursuit of original post-graduate work to a limited number of men having approved aptitudes and capacity for social study and service. It is the laboratory where the resident graduate may undertake more independent effort under expert supervision, and be guided through the first stages of the training of a specialist, or fitted to deal more practically with the social problems of the church and the community.

In estimating the sociological work in theological seminaries, then, we must not think of it as the only work of the kind done by the church. For in the fulfilment of her social mission the church has ever put her sociological work into life rather than into literature. However unconsciously to herself, or however unrecognized by men, she has always builded better than she or they knew. Her family structure is the most indestructible and indispensable unit of society. Her local household of faith has been, and may be again, the natural and necessary centre of every community, co-ordinating and bringing into harmony and co-operation all the forces of neighborhood life that make for righteousness and fraternity. Her educational philanthropies are raising the abject and subject classes. Her missionary agencies at home and abroad are founding a new civilization. Her kingdom is the only centre of a unity that comprehends the material, social, and spiritual interests of mankind. Slowly, but, surely Christianity is forging the social molds

for a new manhood, and fashioning the structure of the new heavens and the new earth.

IV. The suggestions prompted by this review of the instruction offered by the several seminaries are these:

(1.) The academic studies of candidates for the theological course should be so directed by the co-operation of collegiate and seminary faculties as to insure their special preparation in political economy, economic history, ethics and physiological psychology. The lack of this basis by a considerable proportion of every class is a serious impediment to the accomplishment of any satisfactory result in the brief time which at best can be secured for sociology in the theological curriculum. To this end, and for the training of the laity in the Christian aspects of sociology, the establishment of sociological departments and chairs of applied Christianity, such as Iowa College has set the type of, is highly desirable.

(2.) The limitations of the time, scope and aim that sociology may claim in the theological curriculum must be clearly and definitely recognized before any intelligent course of instruction can be projected or any practical results of teaching be attained. As at present arranged, the average theological curriculum can devote to sociology at the utmost not more than thirty-five hours in its prescribed course of three years, without serious curtailment of its other courses. Although better than nothing, this is not time enough in which to attempt or attain satisfactory results. More time for this and other imperatively necessary branches can be secured in one of three ways: by offering elective courses, to which from one-fourth to one-third of all the required hours should be devoted,—for without the elective system the best practicable results cannot be obtained in sociological training; by lengthening the course to four years, which is yet to be strongly demanded of the seminaries; by separating pastoral theology from homiletics and so readjusting it that it may be in name, aim, scope, and method, what in fact the new conditions of Christian work demand, namely, pastoral sociology. Anyone of these changes would make it practicable for any seminary to introduce sociology into its training for service. All of them would supply thoroughly adequate provisions for the sociological training of the ministries of the church.

The scope of sociological instruction practicable in a seminary course is limited by the aim of its introduction. The course cannot comprehend, for example, the thorough study of political economy, although the

economic conditions of individual and social development demand study. The theories of wages, land tenure, labor and currency cannot be exhaustively treated, but the bearings of these problems upon life can and should be learned by the study of the social condition of labor. The sciences of penology, charity and statistics cannot be mastered, but their relation to Christianity and to the responsibility of the churches for the dependent, delinquent and defective classes, it is almost criminal not to define. The scientific study of all the philanthropic, reformatory, and labor movements and methods of the day cannot be undertaken, but they will supersede the church if she does not maintain or regain her leadership of them by training at least a few of her very best men to lead them. She can lead only by being ahead.

(3.) The third suggestion refers to the practicable aim of sociological teaching and training in the seminary.

The primary and most valuable purpose to be fulfilled is to establish the student in the sociological point of view. Thence the Bible becomes a new book. Its early history is found to be the most original source for the study of social origins. Its primitive customs are seen in the process of crystalizing into law. Its ancient law formulates the most fundamental, yet ideal, principles, of legislation capable of universal application. In the rise and growth of its social and political institutions the evolution of the organic structures of contemporary life is illustrated. Its ancient life lives again to light up the problems of the modern world. Its fundamental tenets of one divine fatherhood, the brotherhood of all men, the immanence of God in natural law and in human life through the incarnation of Jesus Christ, the redemptive atonement offered by the God-man and the sacrifice of self in service to be made by men, the regeneration of the soul and of society by the dynamic indwelling of the Spirit of God, these old, yet ever new, facts and forces are to be recognized if history is to be understood, if the dark problems of the life of to-day are to be solved, and if "progress" is to maintain or increase its movement toward the goal of perfected life, individual and social. Theology, too, is humanized, yet all the more deified, when viewed from its relation with and application to the whole organism of human life. It becomes all the more truly a "body of divinity" by including the body of the humanities.

The church built upon and operated from this view of its vital relations to human society is seen to be identified with the commonest interests of men. Its Sunday worship is exalted by its week-day work.

It saves more souls for the other world by saving more men in this. It saves the soul more surely, and for more that makes it worth the saving, by saving society from its sins. It shuts the mouth of hell and opens the door of heaven as it centres hope and effort upon bringing the kingdom of God to earth. To occupy the sociological point of view in its teaching and application of the gospel of the kingdom is the quickest and surest way of bringing society to the Christian view of its high and holy ideal and function.

Next in importance to this aim is that of giving the student inspiration and impulse for the practical application of Christianity to the social conditions of common life. The teacher's personality, enthused by being possessed with the world purposes of the Son of Man, is the only medium through which the impact of truth can kindle this "enthusiasm for humanity." Established in this view-point and inspired by this impulse, the ministry needs only to be equipped with the knowledge of the method of this study and work in order to lead the church to its world work for the kingdom.

(4.) Suggestion as to the method of teaching sociology is best prompted by the fair and fraternal criticism of the methods employed. Most to be criticised is the dependence upon the exclusively theoretical study of sociology from the philosophical and dogmatic point of view, which is naturally and necessarily taken where it must be treated in relation to dogmatic theology. For sociology is primarily a descriptive and static science. Its teleological and dynamical principles are to be arrived at only by the widest induction from observed and classified facts. Open to serious criticism also is the fragmentary and disconnected treatment of these most involved and complicated "social problems" without studying their relation to each other or to the structure of the social organism. They cannot be understood, much less intelligently dealt with on the field, without the knowledge of those inter-relationships and unities of human interest which is only to be attained by the study of general sociology.

The points of pedagogical method suggested therefore are:

(a.) To begin by awakening the student's own observation of the social phenomena as they are to be seen, both in life and in periodical literature. This may be promoted by directing the search in both directions, and by holding a weekly or fortnightly quiz and informal discussion over the facts observed.

(b.) To specialize the observation and study along a single line of investigation and teaching is the next method naturally suggested. This is best accomplished by one or more seminars or electives in such studies as pauperism and poverty, public relief and private charity, juvenile delinquency and child saving, the sweating system, labor organization, the poor laws of the Pentateuch, etc.

In conducting this work in any specific social science, primary attention should be paid to showing the student where to find the original sources of material, what methods of original work he should employ, and how to apply the results of study to practical purposes.

(c.) The method should progress from the study of the concrete to the general, from phenomena to definition and classification, from a specific social science to the study of general sociology. With this the course may well conclude, for in general sociology the groundwork for the subsequent study and application of the specific social science is laid.

The course in general sociology should include the following branches:

Introduction, general, pedagogical and practical.

Definition of the province and nature of sociology and of its relations to science; to the descriptive, physical, mental, moral, economic, political, social, and religious sciences; to personality and to Christianity.

The social instinct in its psychological, economic and religious aspects.

Social morphology, in which the genetic structures of society be studied in their origins, and in their relationship to each other, to the individual and to their unity in the kingdom of God.

V. It remains to add a word of justification and enter a plea. Against the assumption that the "theological bias" incapacitates any mind for the study of sociology, it may be necessary to justify the introduction of this science into theological seminaries. The recognition of any such interference of human or divine volition with social evolution as renders prevision impossible is declared to be destructive to the existence of any science of society. Theology is supposed to be committed to such a recognition, and therefore indicates "the mental attitude of those for whom there can be no such thing as sociology, properly so called."* It might be sufficient to deny the responsibility of

*See *The Study of Sociology*, by Herbert Spencer, Chap. 2.

theology for the mental attitude therein described, which no intelligent student of scripture can justify. But it may be well to be reminded that scripture does not teach, and theology should not inculcate, such a conception of the will as denies antecedents to its choices and order of sequence to its action, or asserts its liberty to be lawlessness, its freedom caprice, and its autocracy to be absolutely underived, independent of all precedent and wholly incapable of prevision. God is immanent in nature. His will is law. His Word discloses the natural laws by which man's will works. If it is admitted that "the character of the aggregate is determined by the characters of the units," the theological seminary may justify its right to teach sociology by demonstrating the formative influence which Christianity has ever exerted over the individual units, and the determining effect it thereby has upon the social aggregate. It may go further and claim sociology to be the science of the kingdom of the Son of Man, the formulation and application of which through the ages is the very dynamic of the social evolution of the race.

It has well been suggested by another that in many respects the Christian ministry has a larger exemption from such biases as disqualify for sociological study than the training and position of most other classes of men allow them to enjoy. No better counteractant to mental or temperamental bias could be employed to set these social physicians free for their service to society than the introduction of sociology into their professional training. The bias by which Mr. Spencer seems to be so unmistakably influenced cannot be admitted by any Christian student to have disqualified him from performing the most distinguished service as yet rendered society and the church within the domain of sociology. More than to any man, the world and the church will long be indebted to him for the formulation of sociological method and the observation, classification, and tabulation of data, the inductions from which in such large part constitute sociological science.

The plea, based upon all that precedes, with which this paper should logically and practically conclude, is for the following things:

(1.) For the establishment of sociological departments in seminaries, which shall have the same status and relative share of time as the other departments of the theological curriculum.

(2.) For such organization of the students' field-work, under the supervision, restraint and impulse of a practical and experienced professor, as shall make it an educational adjunct to the class-room, and

shall afford opportunity to earn the financial aid usually extended to those preparing for the ministry.

(3.) For library equipment, including original sources of information, such as the government census and reports, the investigations of special commissions, the treatises of specialists, the reports of institutions, the proceedings of scientific bodies, etc.; also duplicates of important works for use in institute or seminar work.

(4.) For representation of the seminaries in the societies of specialists in social science by the personal membership of the professors of this department.

(5.) For co-operation of seminaries with each other and with the colleges in promoting the sociological training of the ministry and of the membership of the churches.

(6.) For extension of this instruction and training to those at work in the field and all others who may be deprived of the advantages of studying at these institutions.

(7.) For adequate endowment of these departments and ample provision for their accessory agencies.

(8.) For co-operation of the churches in adopting corporate methods of work, in enlarging the sphere of their social service, and in establishing themselves as the centres of unity for the social fellowship and work of the entire community.

PHILANTHROPOLOGY IN EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS.

PROFESSOR AMOS G. WARNER, LELAND STANFORD, JR., UNIVERSITY,
SECRETARY OF SECTION VII.

On being appointed secretary of this section of the International Congress of Charities, Correction and Philanthropy, it seemed to be my first duty to quarrel with the management about the name that they had chosen for the section. They called it a Section on the Introduction of Sociology as a Special Topic of Investigation and Instruction in Institutions of Learning. Now sociology, according to Professor Giddings, may be considered either as an inclusive science, made up of the congeries of special sciences, such as economics, ethics, political science, etc., or it may be considered a science fundamental to these, as biology is fundamental to, but distinct from, the special sciences of botany and zoology.

It seemed inappropriate to examine at this present Congress the college work done in the various branches of such a stupendous subject, whether we accept one definition of it or another. It appeared that we could only concern ourselves properly with that aspect of sociology which relates in a manifest and immediate manner to the condition and care of the unfortunate classes. To go further would give the impression that we had fallen into the sophomoric habit of annexing the universe to any subject which we might happen to be interested in. Of course there is a unity of sociology, just as there is a unity of all truth whatsoever; and to make distinctions where there are none, or to treat a branch as though it constituted the whole, is frequently mischievous. But it was not clear why at this Congress we should be asked to traverse ground belonging to other Congresses that will assemble later on,—why we should concern ourselves with the work in economics and political science, which does not bear upon the work of philanthropy very directly, and which would be treated at the meetings of other associations and societies.

Perhaps one reason why my point was considered not well taken was that no good name was suggested for the special branch of social science with which we deal. It is common enough to name our sciences before they are hatched, but in the present case we seem to have a tolerably well developed science without a name. The one suggested during the organization of this section, and the one which met the approval of Professor Giddings, was that of Social Pathology—a name which he characterized as being admirably descriptive. But Mr. Wines properly pointed out that it is too narrow in its signification—that if we are to have social pathology, we must also have it based upon social physiology and supplemented by social therapeutics. No good name therefore being forthcoming, my objections were overruled and the title of the section contains the term sociology.*

While officially convinced, I was personally of the same opinion still, and feared that our action would help to befog the meaning of the term sociology, as the action of the American and English Social Science Associations has served to render the term social science un-

*Mr. Wines' letter, bearing date January 6, 1893, was, so far as it relates to this subject, as follows: "Mr. Rosenau has shown me your letter of December 30, in which you say that sociology is too large to be made the tail of the philanthropy kite, and that what we want to consider seems to be the introduction of 'social pathology,' etc.

"To give your section such a title would be most unfortunate, it seems to me. The science of society, if it is a science, like that of medicine, includes anatomy, physiology, pathology and therapeutics. If we were to consider the teaching of social science in colleges from the narrow point of view of the professional philanthropist, you might as well call your section the section on the introduction of social therapeutics, etc.; and better, because it is the cure of social wrongs which directly interests the philanthropist. A much higher and larger aim is to correct the narrowness of the philanthropist, by teaching him that the pathological social conditions can not be understood without a complete view, in the first place, of the anatomy and physiology of the social organism, and its normal operation in a condition of health. Much less is the philanthropist (so-called, who is often a mere sentimentalist, whose methods are purely empirical) prepared to administer remedies intelligently without a thorough grounding in the elementary principles of social science in all its branches, including economics. And what is wanted in our colleges is to train young men thus thoroughly, who may in their lives devote themselves to humanitarian work, if that seems to be their vocation. On the other hand, we wish to show that these theoretical studies of social organization have a possible humanitarian outlook and bearing.

"Instead of regarding sociology as the tail of the philanthropic kite, I should say, sticking to your figure, that philanthropy is the tail of the sociological kite. To show this is the proper work of your section."

usable because so frequently misapplied and misunderstood. This term, which surely ought to be as broad as sociology itself, usually refers to that bundle of half-organized sciences relating to the family, the criminal, and the care of defectives and dependents which are not well enough developed to be named individually. The present and unfortunate ambiguity of the term is well reflected in the definition of it given by the Century Dictionary, which is as follows:

"Social Science: the science of all that relates to the social condition, the relations and the institutions which are involved in man's existence and his well-being as a member of an organized community. It concerns itself more especially with questions relating to the public health, education, labor, punishment of crime, reformation of criminals, pauperism, and the like. It thus deals with the effect of existing social forces and their result on the general well-being of the community, without directly discussing or expounding the theories or examining the problems of sociology, of which it may be considered as a branch."

The first sentence of this definition would answer as well for a definition of sociology as the one actually given for that term by the same dictionary. Having made this concession to the original and, as many think, proper definition of social science, the dictionary then proceeds to describe the common understanding of the term, and to say that social science instead of being what it was just defined to be is only a branch of that larger whole. Could we accept the last two sentences of the definition as correctly describing the connotation of the term, then our Section VII might have been correctly named a "Section on the Introduction of Social Science into Institutions of Learning." The term, however, has been too nearly ruined for scientific use to be available, and so it is proposed that we lend what influence we may have to the spoiling of the newer term "sociology."

With the intention of making the work of the section as little mischievous as possible, the programme has been arranged to cover the ground in which this Congress may be held to be especially interested, and Professor Giddings was asked to contribute a paper on the "Place of Social Pathology in Social Science." He consented to undertake this work, but illness made it impossible for him to perform it. In a letter regretting his inability to prepare the paper, he very strongly endorsed the position taken by the secretary of the section, and said that he would

have been glad to do what he could to preserve the proper meaning of the term sociology.

For purposes of convenience in the preparation of this paper, and as describing better than any other term that suggests itself to me the branch of social science in which we are immediately interested, I shall use the term "Philanthropology." The popular understanding of the word philanthropy makes possible its use for the special purpose here in view, and the awkwardness of it must be tolerated until something better is suggested.

Keeping in view the purpose implied in the title that was imposed upon us, it was my duty as secretary of the section to collect accounts of college and university courses in all the various branches of social science, including economics and political science. As to the place which these studies should, or might, occupy in university education, a great deal has been written by various writers. That the studies have not been introduced as rapidly and universally as almost everyone who has considered the subject has wished, is owing undoubtedly to the fact that the sciences themselves are unformed, and consequently semi-useless. Political economists frequently complain that their recommendations and reasonings are ignored, but one who candidly considers what they have recommended and held to be reasonable in the past must admit that frequently what they have said has been ignored because it was not worth attending to. If the sciences have not been widely introduced, it is partly because they were not in shape to be useful, either as disciplinary or informational subjects of instruction.

Two papers have recently appeared dealing on the theoretical side with the introduction of political economy or sociology as special topics of investigation and instruction in institutions of learning. One is an article, "The Academic Study of Political Economy," by Charles F. Dunbar;* the other by Franklin H. Giddings, "Sociology as a University Study."†

The subject on its philosophical side receives further treatment with special attention to the work of our section in the inaugural address of the chairman.

As to the concrete courses in economics and social science which are offered in the universities of the world, it will be sufficient, so far as

*Quarterly Journal of Economics, Vol. 1, pp. 397-416.

†Political Science Quarterly, Vol. 6, pp. 635-655.

European countries are concerned, to refer to articles which have recently appeared in the scientific quarterlies describing such courses in the various countries. For instance, the subject of economics in Italy has been treated by Ugo Rabbino*, and another article covering somewhat the same ground is one on "Academic Instruction in Political and Economic Science in Italy," prepared by Roland P. Falkner.† Instruction in public law and political economy in German universities was treated by the editors of the *Annals* in Vol. I, pages 78-102, and the same subject was continued in very complete detail in the same volume, pages 272-287. Instruction in French universities, with a special reference to instruction in public law and economics in the law faculty, was described by Leo S. Rowe.‡ The subject of political economy in France, chiefly in its historical aspect, has been treated by Professor Charles Gide.§ The teaching of political science at Oxford was described by D. G. Ritchie, of that university.|| These various articles being easily accessible to those interested in the subject, it seems unwise to reproduce, or even to summarize, their results here.

In the United States two papers already published give the data which are desirable in considering the large subject which our section has been ordered to discuss. The first of these was a committee report printed with other papers by the American Social Science Association. William T. Harris was chairman of the committee. Circulars were sent out asking about instruction in ten specified branches of social science, as follows:—

- (1.) Theory of property, real and personal.
- (2.) Production of wealth.
- (3.) Theory of government, national, state and municipal.
- (4.) Public and private corporations.
- (5.) Punishment and reform of criminals.
- (6.) Prevention of vice, intemperance, prostitution, vagrancy, etc.
- (7.) Public and private charities. Care of the poor, insane, blind, idiotic, deaf-mute, foundlings, orphans, etc.

*Political Science Quarterly, Vol. 6, pp. 439-473.

†Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. I, pp. 635-661.

‡Annals, Vol. I, pp. 494-517.

§Political Science Quarterly, Vol. 5, pp. 603-635.

||Annals, Vol. II, pp. 85-95.

- (8.) Sanitation of cities and private dwellings: water, special ventilation, drainage, epidemics, etc.
- (9.) Theory of public elementary education.
- (10.) Higher education as furnishing the directive power of society.

Answers were received from 104 institutions, showing that instruction was given in one or more of these branches at least nominally. Some extended statements were made as regards the instruction in certain institutions where comparatively elaborate courses were given, and the lectures by Mr. F. B. Sanborn before the medical department of the Boston University on the care of the dependent and delinquent classes were given in a very full syllabus. As a rule, however, it was found that very little was then done in the special department of philanthropology.

Within the past year we have had a second study of instruction in American colleges in so far as political economy is concerned. This is published by Professor Laughlin, in the Appendix to Volume I, No. 1, of the *Journal of Political Economy*. It shows that in those studies which Professor Laughlin classifies under the head of political economy the colleges and universities of the United States in 1878 offered a total of 2,292½ hours of instruction, while in the college year 1892-3 they offered 13,116½.*

In order to get fuller light as to social science instruction in American colleges and universities at the present time, there was prepared under my direction at the Bureau of Education in Washington a statement of all courses of this kind so offered. This statement shows that 348 institutions gave some attention to studies that would have been included in the inquiry made by the American Social Science Association. Of these about two-thirds, or 224, have courses that are little more than nominal. The others take hold of the various subjects with some degree of seriousness.

The manuscript notes in which the returns for all these institutions were given in full were placed at the disposal of Mr. Rosenau and were to have been charted by him, but the pressure of other work, or the difficulties of tabulation prevented him from arranging the charts that had been expected. As already indicated, I prefer to confine my own attention to those branches of the subject which are to be termed "philanthropology;" but enough has been said to indicate how largely the

*This information is admittedly incomplete.

various social sciences, if we may group them under that general term, are being introduced into the educational institutions of the world. That they are being so introduced proves not only that there is need of them, but that they are being so shaped that at last they are becoming useful.

An attempt has been made to secure for this Congress an account from specialists of the particular courses in philanthropology which they are offering. The extent to which it has been successful is indicated by the programme of the sectional meetings, and by the table of contents of the printed volume. As to European countries, it may be said in a general way that the study of criminology has been undertaken for the most part by professors in the medical schools. Especially in Italy, crime causes have been studied in the characteristics of the individual, rather than in their social and political aspects. In France these same social and political aspects have been more dealt with.

The letters which will be read to the sectional meetings will give some idea of what is being done in these lines on the subject of "*Gefängniswesen*." The lectures of Von Jagemann at Freiburg are so interesting that they are described at some length in an abstract of his syllabus.

On the side of charity,—what the Germans call "*Armenwesen*,"—there is hardly as much done now by the colleges and universities of Europe as there was in the early days, when lectures on pauperism made a large part of the political economy courses offered, especially in the English universities. Chalmers, who delivered his lectures on political economy to a theological school before printing them as a text-book, whose three volumes on the "Christian and Civic Economy of Large Towns," were prepared in the same way, and who reinforced his theoretical teaching by the very practical work of having his church take over the burden of relieving the poor, so that public relief was abolished in his parish, has had no direct successor. Professor Fawcett's lectures on pauperism have, apparently, no counterpart in the university instruction of the immediate present.

In the United States, one of the earliest experiments in giving didactic instruction in philanthropology was that made by Mr. F. B. Sanborn in his lectures, already mentioned, at the Boston University, and others given at Cornell University. He was one of the first, I think, to take classes of undergraduates to visit penal and charitable institutions, and,

indeed, to bring to the attention of undergraduates the true principles of relief and reformatory work.

At the present time about a dozen colleges and universities in this country give more or less systematic instruction in philanthropy. At Harvard, Professor F. G. Peabody offers a course on the "Ethics of the Social Questions," in which the questions of charity, divorce, the Indians, temperance, and the various phases of the labor question are considered as problems of practical ethics. This is a two hour course through the year, with voluntary conferences on Saturday at 10 A. M., and the students are encouraged to visit institutions and take work, if possible, with some of the charitable associations of Boston which utilize volunteer visitors.

At Columbia College, Professor Franklin H. Giddings lectures two hours per week the first semester on theoretical sociology, and the second semester on crime and punishment. The first mentioned course includes (a) the theories and literature of sociology since Comte; (b) ethnographic sociology; (c) demographic sociology, with special attention to the problems of great cities. The course on crime and punishment deals with (a) the nature and extent of crime; (b) the criminal; (c) the causes of crime; and (d) the punishment of crime. At Bryn Mawr College, Professor Giddings also gives a course of thirty lectures on sociology.*

At Yale, not very much is done in the way of didactic instruction, but Professor H. W. Farnam has undertaken work with the Organized Charities Association and with the co-operation of others has prepared an excellent report on the advisability of establishing a workhouse and on the general subject of poor relief.

At the University of Pennsylvania, Professor R. P. Falkner, whose doctor's thesis, published in Germany, was on prison labor, has given some instruction in statistics of prisoners, and published, with the co-operation of the Warden's Association, a monograph on that subject.

At the Johns Hopkins University, lecture courses were first given in philanthropy in the year 1887, and either lectures given in course, or single addresses by workers in the lines of charity and penology, have been offered the students from that time to this. Class excursions to charitable and penal institutions have frequently been made and a

*Professor Giddings is now at the head of a department of sociology at Columbia.

late Circular of Information gives an account of such excursions for the winter of 1892-93, and the lectures which formed the basis of the work in this line.

In Knox College, President J. H. Finley, for a considerable time secretary of the State Charities Aid Association of New York, gives lectures in philanthropy, and Mr. Frederick H. Wines has also spoken there on the care of the dependent classes and treatment of delinquents.

At the University of Kansas, Professor F. W. Blackmar has given rather elaborate courses in this line, and the students have been encouraged to prepare special reports on the institutions of the vicinity and the state. A recent paper on penology in Kansas, by Professor Blackmar himself, gives a systematic view of this branch of the subject for the state.

At the University of Nebraska, a term's work was given during the the years 1889-90, with class excursions to institutions in the vicinity.

At the State University of Wisconsin, the School of Economics, Political Science and History, organized under the direction of Dr. R. T. Ely, has given a two hours' course, directed by Dr. Scott, on the problems of dependency and delinquency. This has been supplemented by two courses of ten lectures each by Rev. F. H. Wines and Dr. A. G. Warner.

At the University of Indiana, Professor J. R. Commons, for some time of Oberlin, has continued the work begun there in systematic instruction regarding practical philanthropy.

At Brown University, Professor G. G. Wilson, who presents a paper to this Congress, has courses that bear upon philanthropy and one on modern social problems, which includes charity, penology, criminology, history of punishments, marriage, divorce, temperance, education, labor movements, Indians, social legislation and municipal government. At the same institution, Professor Packard gives courses in anthropology and primitive society.

At the University of Iowa, G. T. W. Patrick, professor of philosophy, gives a course of lectures three hours a week during the spring term of each year on charities and correction. This course was offered for the first time last spring, but for several years instruction on the subject has been given in connection with work in practical ethics. The course includes causes of pauperism and crime, organized charities, child-saving institutions, college settlements, and so forth. The latter part of the

term is devoted to modern penology. Some university extension work in the same line has been given at Burlington and other points.

At the university of Minnesota, Rev. S. G. Smith. D. D., of the State Board of Corrections and Charities, lectures upon the subjects with which his official duties have made him familiar.

At the Leland Stanford, Junior, University, lectures have been given during the college year just closed on pauperism as a phase of natural selection in modern industry, and the announcements for next year include a year's work in static and dynamic sociology under Professor Ross, a half-year course in social pathology and a half-year course in charities and corrections, treated as a branch of social therapeutics, by Professor A. G. Warner. Work is begun on a report on the charities of California, which will be prepared by the students under the direction of the instructor. A volume on American charities by the latter is announced. University extension courses in social pathology have been given at San Jose and Oakland.

At the University of Chicago, Professor C. R. Henderson gives four hours a week during the autumn quarter to the conditions of dependency in the United States, four hours a week during the winter quarter to criminal anthropology, and four hours a week during the winter and spring quarters to the following sub-topics:

- (a) The amelioration of class conditions.
- (b) The reform of extra-industrial laws.
- (c) The improving of the individual type.
- (d) For restraining, reforming and restoring the vicious, the defective and the diseased.

In addition to this, he gives courses on the family institution, the social agencies of organized Christianity, and the social functions of the modern municipality, commonwealth and nation. A work by Professor Henderson, entitled "An Introduction to the Study of Dependent, Delinquent and Defective Classes", has recently appeared.

At the same institution, Professor Talbot takes up the problems of house sanitation, the sanitary aspects of food, water and clothing, and conducts a seminary of sanitary science. A seminary is also conducted where the results of special research are reported for comment and criticism. The ethical side of sociology at the same institution is treated by Professor Small, the head of the department of social science and anthropology. This department is distinct from that of political economy, presided over by Professor Laughlin, and from the department of

political science, of which Professor Judson is the leader. It will be seen that at this, the youngest of the universities, the most elaborate courses are offered both in philanthropology and in the social sciences generally.

It is apparent at once that what is being done in the line of didactic instruction in philanthropology in the colleges and universities of the world is hardly more than a beginning, but that there has been thus much of a beginning is encouraging. It is perhaps a significant fact that the newest institutions are those in which the most elaborate courses in philanthropology have been announced, and that from these institutions are coming publications that may serve as preliminary studies for text-books of the new science.

Much more has been done than the enumeration of class courses or lecture subjects would indicate. The influence of a personality like that of Arnold Toynbee does more to interest the students of the university with which he is identified in the care of the unfortunate classes, than any amount of didactic instruction. In many colleges and universities it is the indirect influence of an awakened interest on the part of the professors in social problems that leads the students to take an interest in them rather than anything in the formal work of the class or lecture room. When the students of the Institute of Technology undertook a volunteer sanitary inspection of certain tenement-house districts of Boston, or when, as in many places at the present time, students become volunteer visitors of charity organization societies, more is learned by this system of practical contact with the difficulties of the problem than could be acquired by any amount of reading or listening. The organized effort to secure this immediate contact is well illustrated in the development of the college settlements all over the country, and these, as social science laboratories, have been treated by Mr. Robert A. Woods for the benefit of this Congress.

Outside of the colleges and universities, in the professional schools of the country some attention is being paid to the problem of philanthropology. If present indications are correctly interpreted, the theological schools will necessarily give more and more attention to practical philanthropy and so to the science of philanthropology. Desultory lectures like those that have been repeatedly given by Mr. Charles D. Kellogg, general secretary of the New York Charity Organization Society, or the late Mr. George B. Buzelle of Brooklyn, accomplish much in awakening interest and will pave the way for the fuller and more sys-

tematic work, which, indeed, has already in some cases been undertaken by such men as President Wm. J. Tucker of Dartmouth, and Professor Graham Taylor of the Chicago Theological Seminary. Professor Taylor has written upon this special branch of our topic.

Medical schools have heretofore had little use for the consideration of the sociological bearings of their work—much less in this country than in Europe—and this, probably, because the preparation for admission has usually been so deficient. But if modern research as to the causes of crime and pauperism teaches us one thing more definitely than another, it is that we must frequently give special attention to the physical and physiological causes. As yet our medical schools are concerned scarcely at all with public or preventive medicine, but are concerned almost entirely with teaching the student how to tinker up the individual anatomies of those who come to him for advice.

The same is true of the law schools. The books with which the shelves of the law libraries groan have for their purpose the statement of what the law is, and seldom concern themselves with an inquiry as to what the law ought to be. They are constructed with the one object of enabling busy attorneys to win cases. We requested the dean of a prominent law school to present to us a paper on the study of social science in American law schools, but he took the view that such a paper would be as short as the famous one on snakes in Ireland. He did not think it worth while to come to Chicago for the mere purpose of saying that there is no such instruction in American law schools, even though it should give him the opportunity to add that there ought to be.

The Chautauqua movement and the university extension movement have afforded facilities for the extension of instruction in social science; and such institutions as the Summer School of Applied Ethics and the Brooklyn Ethical Association contribute to the same end. This ground is more fully covered in the paper which Mr. George Iles, secretary of the Society for Political Education, has prepared for this Congress.

The National Bureau of Education has for more than a year employed Dr. Arthur MacDonald, sometime docent in criminology at Clark University, to prepare special reports on education in its relation to social pathology. His work as yet consists largely in reproducing what has already appeared upon the subject in foreign languages, and in the gathering of very numerous bibliographical references.

I had hoped, also, to be able to present to the section some account of social science instruction in reformatories, and asked Professor C. A.

Collins to describe for us his practical morality class at the Elmira Reformatory. This he was not able to do. It perhaps serves our purpose sufficiently well to notice that such work has been undertaken, and as "*The Summary*" published at Elmira shows, the scientific study of criminals is being prosecuted to some extent as a means of educating criminals themselves.

In conclusion, it is only necessary to reiterate the thought that all that has been done in the way of systematic instruction in philanthropology is important chiefly as a promise of what is yet come. Perhaps one of the most significant facts, as indicating the trend of development, is the organization of such a section as this in connection with the International Congress of Charities, Correction and Philanthropy.

LETTERS RECEIVED.

A large number of letters were written to specialists in different countries asking for suggestions regarding the work of the section, and for accounts of what was being done in the way of teaching social science. Replies, more or less full, were received from nearly all the countries. For Australia the secretary was advised to look for information to the Hon. G. W. COTTON of Adelaide, an active member of the Australian Association for the Advancement of Science. A reply was received from his son telling of the father's very recent death, and the distance was so great that no further attempt to get information from Australia was made. From more than a hundred letters that lie upon the secretary's table a few of apparently general and permanent interest are selected for publication.

ACCOUNT OF A SANITARY INSPECTION OF CERTAIN TENEMENT-HOUSE DISTRICTS OF BOSTON.

PROFESSOR DWIGHT PORTER, MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY,
BOSTON.

The so-called North End of Boston, once the dwelling place of her most prosperous citizens, has become converted, with the changes of time, into a typical tenement-house district. Small wooden houses, formerly occupied by single families, have been filled to overflowing with foreigners. Large rooms have been subdivided, dark inner sleeping rooms have been created, and in various ways the uncomfortable and almost indecent huddling together of humanity has been accomplished. Narrow lanes, once lined by scattered dwellings with grass plots and gardens, are now overshadowed by several-story tenement-houses. The spaces between old residences have been built upon, and even what were the rear yards have been taken possession of and covered with these miserable apologies for homes. To such an extent has this action gone on that it has become necessary to have a law to guard against the absolute and complete covering of lots, clear to the property lines, by tenement-houses. Changes similar to those pointed out have been brought about also in other parts of the city.

Feeling the importance of the problems thus arising, and desiring definite information as to the conditions actually prevailing in the tenement-house sections, certain members of the Ward VIII Conference of the Associated Charities of Boston conceived the idea of having a sanitary survey made of a portion, at least, of the tenement-house districts of that city. A dozen or fifteen persons, a number of whom were identified with the general work of the Associated Charities, subscribed a sum total of \$1,400 to meet the expense of the work, and in the summer of 1887 it was undertaken by the writer. Suggestions as to what should be attempted had previously been made by Professor Raphael Pumpelly and Professor George F. Swain, and the survey was carried out substantially along the lines proposed by them.

Half a dozen undergraduate students of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology were engaged to act as inspectors, and mainly during August and September, 1887, the examinations were conducted. Reconnoissances were made successively of portions of the city which it was proposed to investigate, and from the information thus gained particular houses, or groups or blocks of houses, were selected for detailed study. The inspectors had a simple outfit for examining, testing, measuring and recording. They endeavored to satisfy themselves in each case as to the general sanitary character of the house and premises, and in particular as to the condition of the drainage system; the degree of cleanliness of yard, cellar, water-closet apartment, and living rooms; the size of sleeping rooms and the number of occupants, at least where there was reason to suspect overcrowding; the provisions for light and ventilation; the number of persons living in the house, their occupation, the rent paid and other matters.

Some 900 houses were individually reported upon, containing a population of about 12,000 persons. In the case of premises found to be insanitary, complaints accompanied by abstracts of the inspectors' reports were lodged with the Board of Health. The results of the inspections were grouped and discussed in a report, printed and illustrated with photographs, drawings and diagrams, and embodying various conclusions and recommendations. The report was finally read before a General Conference of Charities in December, 1888, and copies were sent to members of the state and city governments and to such other persons as could be supposed to be interested in the matter of tenement-house reform in Boston. The actual cost of the survey proper was less than \$900, to which may be added about \$400 for printing 1,500 copies of the report.

Those persons who were directly interested in this enterprise have continued active efforts for sanitary improvements down to the present time, and by their perseverance and good management successful results have been attained in the following lines, the importance of which was emphasized in the report upon the survey:

(1) In procuring the passage of additional laws bearing upon tenement and lodging-houses as follows:

(a) Requiring semi-annual inspection by the Board of Health of all tenement and lodging-houses, and re-inspections in certain cases.

(b) Giving the Board of Health power to prescribe the allowable number of occupants of any tenement or lodging-house, and in case of neglect of their notice, power to vacate the premises.

(c) Giving the Board of Health power to obtain by requisition from the Board of Police a detail of officers to constitute a sanitary police. The inspecting force has been otherwise increased, however, and this power has not yet been exercised.

(d) Providing for the building of sewers at public cost within a defined limit of annual expense in alleys and courts, where under the old law sewers were not required, and where, consequently, privies and cesspools had to be tolerated. It is true that thus far the city government has failed to appropriate money for this purpose, but it is stated that a law is now receiving favorable consideration which provides for the building of such sewers at private expense.

(e) Limiting the proportion of a lot which shall be covered, in future construction, by a tenement or lodging-house.

(2) In securing sufficiently severe action on the part of the Board of Health to result in the vacating, in some cases permanently, of houses which were unfit for habitation.

(3) In securing increased attention to the importance of open squares and other breathing places and playgrounds in the tenement-house sections. An appropriation has recently been made of \$350,000 for a park in this very North End of which mention was made at the outset.

It cannot be determined, of course, how much the enterprise here described has shared in forwarding these and other sanitary and social improvements in Boston, but I believe that the promoters of the work are satisfied that it involved a wise expenditure of time and money. Probably its greatest value lay in furnishing to the people a reliable statement, based upon systematic observation, of the conditions really prevailing among the tenement-house population; in pointing out and uniting effort upon certain practicable lines of action; and in demonstrating to the Board of Health the interest of good citizens in certain phases of their work, and the desire of citizens to co-operate with and to sustain advanced action on the part of the Board in dealing with the problems of tenement-house life.

The second letter, from C. S. LOCH, secretary of the London Charity Organization Society, is in reply to a question as to the part which university men are taking in benevolent work in England.

CHARITY ORGANIZATION SOCIETY,
CENTRAL OFFICE, 15 BUCKINGHAM ST. ADELPHI,
LONDON, W. C., 20 FEBRUARY, 1893.

Dear Sir:

In your letter of the 20th ultimo you have the following paragraph: "Section VIII is to consider specially the teachings of sociology in its humanitarian bearings. University settlement work, and the work of friendly visitors bears somewhat the same relation to social science that laboratory work bears to the physical sciences. How much are the theological centres of England doing in the way of instruction in these branches? In the United States we think we can trace the development of a new profession. College men who have become interested in social science are inclined to take up the work of charitable agencies as a career. Is there any work of this sort in Great Britain?" I find it difficult to give you anything like a complete answer on these points. There is no doubt that the clergy are paying much more attention to the social side of charitable work, but I do not think that it forms such a part of the subjects for examination of candidates for the ministry as it may very possibly do hereafter. It has been suggested, and I think one bishop has acted upon the suggestion, that candidates should, if possible, have some knowledge of political economy; but whether a paper on that subject was adopted simply upon one occasion, or more frequently, I cannot say. The principal of Cuddesdon College, a theological college to which many students go from Oxford and elsewhere, takes care to instruct the men in charitable administration. He would tell them, for instance, about the Elberfeld system. And they have "How to Help Cases of Distress," the introduction to the Charities Register and Digest, printed separately, given to them. I do not think that the nonconformist bodies pay any special attention to the administration of charitable work on its social side. The university settlements are of course useful for the purpose of initiating those who become residents in charitable work. In some instances I think great benefit has resulted from these, but as a rule, I think what has been done has not been done with much fixity of purpose or on a system. Men come and go so quickly at many of these settlements, that it is hardly possible to train them at all sufficiently. The women's settlements are, I think, likely to do more, at any rate more systematic work in this department. The Women's University Settlement in Nelson Square, Southwark, has started a series of lectures and scholarships, as you will see from the last Charity Organization Review.

In regard to your remark as to college men having become interested in social science, &c., I do not know that, outside the range of charity organization, there is yet a desire to accept the services of such men, or an opening for them in London. Most of our district secretaries are university men, as are, with one exception, all those who are working

with me in this office. And of course we have a large sprinkling of them among the members of district committees.

I think that the principle has become established that those who take up matters connected with charitable affairs should have a special training and make the conditions which underlie their administration the subject of special study. I have no doubt myself that, as this principle gains ground, a new and better equipped set of secretaries and managers will take the field. But it must be remembered that we have had to face a great deal of obloquy on the score of the expense which the employment of the better class of men entails; and in very many towns the expenditure upon what I may call skilled labor in this department is shirked, partly at least, on that ground.

I have in this letter referred to men only, but I should be misleading you if I did not mention to you that I think that the university education of women may also by degrees lead them to take part in the better administration of charitable work. One of our most capable district secretaries is a lady who has been at Cambridge. I think that it is likely that we shall in future draw our women district secretaries more and more from the ranks of graduates who have taken the trouble to study political economy and other branches of work, which may be of use to them, and who are prepared to undergo a noviciate in practical administration.

I am, yours truly,

C. S. LOCH.

A brief note received from ALFRED MARSHALL, Professor of Political Economy in the University of Cambridge, contains the following:

"I wish indeed there were much to say on the important subject of which you write. But there is not. Economics and sociology hold so very slight a place in English academic studies, that there are very few teachers of them; those few cannot specialize, and could not get classes if they did."

Dr. GUSTAV HERZFELD of Berlin writes under date of January 31, 1893, in part as follows:

"Please do not think me ungrateful for not answering you before to-day, and even then not communicating with you at length on the subjects you mentioned. The month of January was a very bad one for me, inasmuch as my time was very often occupied with social engagements; and besides I wanted to answer your questions as well and authentically as possible. So I looked through all the courses of lectures held during the last year in German, Austrian and Swiss Universities, and asked some gentlemen whom I knew to be authorities on the subject.

"I am sorry, and at the same time ashamed, to say that in the last year no special lecture at all has been read on poor law in any of our universities; of course every professor treats poor law and the problems of dependency and delinquency on the occasion of his lectures on national economy, on the system and laws of administration. The only lecture on poor law I have heard of was read a few years ago in the University of Leipzig by Professor Wilhelm Roscher. Attempts to utilize students as visitors to the poor have not been made at all. Unfortunately our students, even the most clever and diligent ones, have for their hours of leisure so much to do with duel-fighting, drinking of great quantities of beer and other spirits, etc. Still I hope that the organizations of charity now to be tried in Germany will utilize the students for their purposes, and I am sure this would, from the pedagogic point of view, be an excellent preparation for learning their duties in public life. Everything, or nearly everything, we know of poor law we acquire by practical experience, after having entered the civil service; it is like learning to swim without having been taught. * * *

"As to criminology and criminal anthropology, you are quite right in saying that nearly all that is done in this line is in the medical schools; our judicial professors tell us very little on these things in their lectures on criminal law.

"I should have been very proud to give you a report to be communicated to your section of the International Congress of Charities, but I am sorry I have nothing to communicate."

Dr. C. F. ASCHROTT, Landrichter, also of Berlin, wrote in part as follows, under date February 2, 1893.

"In reply to your letter, dated January 17th, I am sorry to say, that the account of lectures bearing upon the problems of crime and pauperism given in German universities can be only a very poor one.

"The subject of pauperism is usually dealt with only in a superficial way in the lectures on political economy. There has been in fact, so far as I know, only one special lecture on pauperism in all the German universities. Professor Roscher of Leipzig gave some years ago a special public lecture on pauperism. Prof. Roscher has now given up lecturing at all.

"It is not much better with the problem of crime. I know of only two lectures on crime and penology given in German universities; Professor von Liszt of Halle, and Professor Heinze of Heidelberg lecture on the subject and give systematic instruction also in the sociological side of the penal question. In all the other universities there is given in connection with the lecture on penal law only a short summary of the different prison systems.

"Besides this, there is a practical course on the administration of criminal law given at the State Prison in Freiburg. Ministerialrath von

Jagemann in Carlsruhe, who started this course some years ago, will, no doubt, give you every information you may require upon its practical working.

"On the whole, I must say, we are in the treatment of sociology as a special topic of teaching at the universities much behind the American universities I have the pleasure to know. There are only very few university men who apply for government positions connected with the administration of criminal or poor law, there is no such tendency in Germany as in the United States."

The programme and syllabus of lectures on Prison Discipline sent by Ministerialrath von JAGEMANN, is inserted in full.

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR OF PRISONS, FREIBURG.

PROGRAMME OF A COURSE OF INSTRUCTION IN THE THEORY
AND PRACTICE OF PRISON DISCIPLINE.—APRIL 5-21, 1893.

Wednesday, April 5.

- 9.00 A. M.—Address of welcome, setting forth the aim and scope of the course.
3.00 P. M.—Exhibition of the architectual plans of the Central Prison (*Landesgefängniss*); inspection of the prison; and full explanation of the service.

Thursday, April 6.

- 9.00 A. M.—Lecture by Dr. von Jagemann, privy councillor of State, (*Geheimer Oberregierungsrath*).
10.45 A. M.—Visit to the prison school of theoretical instruction for the keepers, (*Aufsichtspersonal*).
11.15 " —Tour of inspection upon the prison walls.
4.00 P. M.—Lecture by Dr. von Jagemann.

Friday, April 7.

- 9.00 A. M.—Lecture by Dr. von Jagemann.
10.45 " —Vocal concert given by the musical society of prison employees.
11.00 " —Attendance upon the Conference.
4.00 P. M.—Lecture by Dr. von Jagemann.

Saturday, April 8.

- 9.00 A. M.—Lecture by Dr. von Jagemann.
11.00 " —Inspection of the new dormitory and commons for the keepers.
4.00 P. M.—Lecture by Dr. von Jagemann.

Sunday, April 9.

- 7.45 A. M.—Attendance upon the Catholic service.
 9.15 “ —Attendance upon the Protestant service.

Monday, April 10.

- 8.00 A. M.—Attendance at the prison school, class 2.
 9.00 “ —Attendance at the prison school, class 5.
 (To be followed by a talk with the teachers).
 10.45 “ —Attendance upon the Jewish catechetical instruction.
 3.00 P. M.—Visit to the local prison (*Amtsgefängniss*), by invitation of the director. Explanation of the service, inspection of the books and registers; visits to the cells.

Tuesday, April 11.

- 9.00 A. M.—Lecture by Councillor (*Regierungsrath*) Kopp.
 10.30 “ —Attendance at the morning reports of the keepers.
 4.00 P. M.—Lecture by Pastor Krauss.

Wednesday, April 12.

- 9.00 A. M.—Visit to the office of the director. Observation of the business of the office; (chief inspector, reports, etc.)
 10.00 “ —Lecture by Professor Kirn, M. D., Medical Councillor (*Medicinalrath*).
 11.15 “ —Attendance at the Conference.
 4.00 P. M.—Lecture by Pastor Krauss.

Thursday, April 13.

- 9.00 A. M.—Lecture by Councillor Kopp.
 10.30 “ —Visit to the office of the clerk. Observation of the business of the office.
 3.00 P. M.—Visits to the cells for prisoners in separate confinement, or personal interviews with convicts undergoing imprisonment in common.
 4.00 “ —Lecture by Professor Kirn.
 5.00 “ —Inspection of the hospital in company with the present and former medical staff.

Friday, April 14.

- 8.00 A. M.—Attendance upon the Evangelical catechetical instruction, followed by a talk with the Evangelical chaplain.
 9.30 “ —Attendance at the morning reports of the keepers.
 10.00 “ —Lecture by Pastor Krauss.
 4.00 P. M.—Lecture by Councillor Kopp.

Saturday, April 15.

- 8.00 A. M.—Observation of the daily service of the corps of keepers.
- 9.30 “ —Visits to cells and personal interviews with convicts.
- 11.00 “ —Lecture by Professor Kirn.
- 3.00 P. M.—Descriptive account, by the business manager, of the business and
 * financial system, including the book-keeping, the domestic economy, the prison industries and other labor, with inspection of the books and registers. Explanation of the savings-banks for inmates and employees, and of the relation of prisoners' earnings to the general accounts. Exhibition of products of prison labor.

Sunday, April 16.

(Free).

Monday, April 17.

- 10.00 A. M.—Lecture by Pastor Krauss.
- 11.30 “ —Inspection of the prison kitchen: testing the food.
- 12.00 “ —Attendance at the issue and distribution of the food.
- 4.00 P. M.—Lecture by Professor Kirn.

Tuesday, April 18.

- 9.00 A. M.—Visits to the cells and interviews with prisoners.
- 10.00 “ —Lecture by Pastor Krauss.
- 4.00 P. M.—Lecture by Councillor Kopp.
- 6.00 “ —Attendance at a session of the Prisoners' Aid Society.

Wednesday, April 19.

- 9.00 A. M.—Lecture by Pastor Krauss.
- 11.15 “ —Attendance at the Conference.
- 5.00 P. M.—Lecture by Professor Kirn.
- 6.00 “ —Attendance at a session of the Board of Managers, (*Aufsichtsrath*).
- 7.00 “ —Attendance at the daily evening reports of the keepers. Explanation of the night service.

Thursday, April 20.

- 8.00 A. M.—Attendance at the Catholic catechetical instruction, followed by a talk with the Catholic chaplain.
- 9.30 “ —Attendance at the daily morning reports of the keepers.
- 11.00 “ —Lecture by Professor Kirn.
- 3.00 “ —Visit to the local prison (*Amtsgefängniss*). The director will speak of possible prison industries, explain the daily tasks of the inmates, and show the balance-sheet of the prison.

Friday, April 21.

9.00 A. M.—Lecture by Pastor Krauss.

3.00 P. M.—Closing address. (This may be given at the morning session, immediately after the lecture).

SYLLABUS OF A COURSE OF LECTURES ON THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF PRISON DISCIPLINE.

[A.]

Address of welcome, with preliminary outline of the course. (By the official selected to deliver the opening lecture).

- I. Greeting.
- II. Introductory remarks concerning intermediate and minor prisons, (*mittlere und kleinere Gefängnisse*).
 1. Principles, and the deductions drawn from them.
 2. The movement for prison reform, especially the measures adopted in Baden, 1881-1885.
- III. Outline of the course of instruction.
 1. Introduction and aim: former prison regulations. (Seuffert, *D. O. Centr.*, §88.)
 2. Relation of penology to
 - (a.) The exercise of the judicial function.
 - (b.) The government and control of prisons (*D. O. Einf. Erlass.*); evolution of the larger institutions.
 - (c.) The work of the prisoners' aid societies.
 3. Scientific aspects of the prison question.
 4. Its sociological aspects.
- IV. Matter and scope of the course, with a summary of the contents of the lectures, and bibliographical references. (The latter topic may be treated separately).

[B.]

Lectures by the Inspector, (*Respicent*), on the philosophic and legal basis of punishment, under the criminal law.

- I. Relation of the prison to the state.
 1. The infliction of penal suffering in its relation to government; peculiarly a judicial act.
 2. Distinction between a judgment and its execution. Necessity for mutual co-operation on the part of the administration and the judiciary, including the measures adopted for the prevention of crime.
 3. Utility of the prison to the state. Limitations of its functional utility. A glance at criminal statistics.

4. Danger of regarding imprisonment as an end in itself and not as a means to higher ends.
 5. Position of the prison question in the scheme of government as a whole. Functions of the prison, and the requisites for their fulfilment.
Illustrations. (Economy in punishment; cost of criminal administration; the place of labor in the penal system; the question of a proper dietary; insanity; imprisonment of vagrants held for trial.)
 6. Self-government as an element in prison discipline. Enlistment of all who favor preventive measures. Relation of the question to political and sectarian differences.
- II. The ends sought in punishment.
1. Classification of delinquents; habitual criminals. Differentiation of the ends of punishment, according to the various types of offenders.
 2. Attitude of the law.
 3. Definition of the ends of punishment.
 - (a.) Retribution, or the satisfaction of the demands of justice.
 - (b.) Deterrence by intimidation.
 - (c.) Reformation.
 - (d.) The protection of society.
 - (e.) Relative importance of these several ends.
- III. The formal execution of legal penalties.
1. State of the law in Germany.
 2. The actual present condition of affairs.
 3. Necessity for an imperial penal code to put an end to the inconsistencies and uncertainties in the administration of the criminal law.
Four distinct tendencies, as to this point:
 - (a.) Reconstruction of the penal code, in its relation to deterrence, reformation and protection. (Medem.)
 - (b.) The assimilation of penalties, (Streng and Sichart.) The penitentiary (*Zuchthaus*) and common prison (*Gefängniss*) contrasted with each other.
 - (c.) Reform of the system of arrests. (Legislation proposed by Krohne and Sichart.)
 - (d.) Political complication. (Bar's resolution.)
- IV. Prison architecture penologically considered.
1. The construction of cells designed for the isolation of prisoners by night.
 2. The type of cell demanded in prisons organized upon the strictly separate system; isolation both by day and night.
 - 3, 4, 5. Dissatisfaction with the earlier types of prison architecture. Experiments. Cellular details.
 6. Imprisonment in association.
 7. The mixed system.
- V. Imprisonment as a means of reformation.
1. The basis of a reformatory system is the solitary cell. (Individualization optional).
 2. Supplemented by association.
 3. Classification. The family system.
 4. Progressive imprisonment.

VI. Modifications of the sentence.

1. General point of view. (Accordance between the sentence and its infliction. Educational power of hope, as a motive to self-control. Influence of change in the environment.)
2. Abbreviation of the sentence.
 - (a.) Commutation.
 - (b.) Conditional liberation, or the parole system.
 - (c.) Pardon.
 - (d.) Good-time laws.
3. Extension of the term of sentence on account of breaches of discipline.
4. The term of sentence undefined.
 - (a.) The indeterminate sentence. (Wines, Krapelin.)
 - (b.) Relatively limited sentences. (Von Liszt.)
5. Suspension of sentence.
 - (a.) On probation, in England and the United States.
 - (b.) Conditional sentences (*condamnation conditionnelle*) in France and Belgium.
 - (c.) Status of the question in Germany and Austria.

[C.]

Lectures, by the Director, on practical prison management, (exclusive of sanitation, medical care, spiritual ministration, and literary education.)

I. Organization of the service, in intermediate and minor prisons.

1. The governing power.
 - (a.) The general superintendent.
 - (b.) The official staff; its powers and duties; rules and their enforcement; the instruction of subordinates and its relation to them.
2. The sub-officers and employees.
 - (a.) Organization.
 - (b.) Duties.
 - (c.) Powers.
 - (d.) How controlled.
 - (e.) Overcoming opposition and indifference. (Practical suggestions, drawn from experience, may be given, if thought desirable, in a separate lecture.)
3. The co-ordination of authority in a prison.

II. Treatment of prisoners, in general.

1. Relation of special details of the service and discipline, as well as of the tasks assigned to prisoners, to the execution of the sentence and to the four ends sought in punishment.
2. Ground, method and limits of the application of—
 - (a.) Severity.
 - (b.) Humanity.
 - (c.) Justice.
 - (d.) Individualization.

III. Treatment of the prisoner at his reception, rules relating to prisoners, and the duties of prisoners in particular.

1. The ceremonial of reception, the part of each official in it, and the impression which it is desirable to make upon the newcomer.

2. Personal knowledge of prisoners.
 - (a.) Its necessity.
 - (b.) Sources of information.
 - a. Statements by the prisoner himself.
 - b. Documentary evidence, (including at least the charge in the indictment and the grounds of the verdict.)
 - c. Correspondence with the prisoner's pastor and with other persons at his home.
 - (c.) Special necessity for minute familiarity with the history of inmates of minor prisons and its value as an aid to preventive work.
 3. Confessions by prisoners, (to be taken for what they are worth.)
 4. Rules relating to prisoners.
 - (a.) What they should include, their purpose and the communication of their contents to prisoners.
 - (b.) Duties and rights of prisoners. with special reference to physical treatment as a reformatory agency.
- IV. Special suggestions relating to the treatment of prisoners during their term of incarceration.
1. Prevention of escapes.
 2. Discipline. Complaints; justice; thoroughness in the infliction of disciplinary punishment; corporal punishment.
 3. Rewards: proper occasions for, and the mode of giving. (Remission of punishment optional.)
 4. Intercourse.
 - (a.) With superior officers. (Demeanor to be observed during interviews with prisoners; importance and value of such interviews, particularly during cellular confinement; grievances and difficulties.)
 - (b.) With the keepers. (Regarded from the point of view of a reformatory discipline. Natural qualifications, education, training, and conduct demanded in keepers, with a view to their moral influence upon prisoners, and their attitude toward the prisoner's reformation.)
 5. Labor in prisons. Labor a part of the penalty; a privilege, not a hardship; a source of pecuniary profit; its relation to the protection of society, and to the prisoner's education and reformation. Individualization. Qualifications of a successful overseer of prison industries. Consequences of mismanagement. Position of the government respecting prison industries.
 6. Additional considerations. Remarks on the conflict between convict and free labor.
 7. Approach of the date fixed for the prisoner's discharge (omitting here public protective and preventive measures). Grounds for discharge, and preparation for it. Treatment of the sick. Impressive form desirable to be given to the discharge.

Notes respecting C.

1. At the close of each lecture the speaker will announce in advance the hour for the next lecture and the paragraphs of the text-book or rules of service to be discussed, in order that previous preparation may be made.

2. The director has made the official rules of service for intermediate and minor prisons, (which will be commented upon in detail), as far as possible, the point of departure for the entire course, with frequent references, by way of comparison, to corresponding provisions in the regulations for the central prisons. An entirely practical turn will be given to all the lectures.

3. The lectures will be supplemented by colloquial discussion of the principal points, of a purely practical character, with special emphasis on matters relating to local prisons.

4. From time to time, by way of practical illustration, thorough inspections will be made both of the state and local prisons, in every detail, and the entire system of organization and management of the institutions and their industries will be fully exhibited and explained. Provision will also be made for attendance at religious services, catechetical instruction, and class instruction in the prison schools. In addition, those who participate in the course will be present, upon different occasions, at guard-mounting, calling the roll of prisoners, conferences by the officials, a session of the board of managers, and a meeting of the prisoners' aid society. There will be a fire drill, without previous notice, etc.

5. The method of intercourse with prisoners will be illustrated by numerous visits paid to them in their cells, conducted by various officials. Interviews will also be held with prisoners undergoing sentence in association.

[D.]

Lectures by the prison chaplain on the moral and religious care of prisoners, their education while in prison, the treatment of neglected children and young criminals, the work of the prisoner's aid societies, and preventive work in general.

I. Spiritual ministrations and education.

1. Spiritual ministrations.

(a.) Historical contrast between the spiritual care of prisoners in the past and present.

(b.) Pastoral duties: moral regeneration (its indications); consolation and encouragement; distinction between religious services in prison and outside.

(c.) Non-pastoral duties.

(d.) Public ministrations.

a. Sunday services; prayer meetings; daily prayers.

b. The place of religious teaching in the effort for the prisoner's reformation.

[1.] The sermon; its character, matter and influence.

[2.] Catechetical instruction; its method and scope. Distinctions between pupils.

[3.] Reading.

(e.) Private ministrations.

a. Principal distinctions between pastoral work in prison and outside.

b. Pastoral visitation of prisoners; the principle of individualization. Prisoners' confessions.

c. Administration of the sacraments. The confessional in prison.

(g.) Spiritual ministrations in the minor prisons. Detailed explanation of §§ 99 ff. of the regulations for minor prisons and of the official decrees relating thereto.

2. Education.

- (a.) Educational agencies. The school; the library; cellular instruction; Sunday occupations; Sunday lectures.
- (b.) Special suggestions as to the prison school.
 - a. Its double function; instruction and mental discipline; its preventive influence. (Ignorance and neglect as causes of crime.) Utility of prison education in the prisoner's after life.
 - b. Distinction between a prison school and other schools.

II. Treatment of neglected and delinquent children and youth.

1. Punishment.

- (a.) Its object; not merely retribution, but moral development by suffering.
- (b.) Influence of this conception upon criminal law, judicial procedure and prison discipline.
- (c.) As to the last, see § 57, last paragraph of the Penal Code; differences in its application in Germany, especially in Baden.
- (d.) The most effective mode of imprisonment for young offenders. (Solitary confinement previous to trial; under police supervision; after sentence. Individualization.)
- (e.) Treatment to be given young offenders in accordance with their varying ages and with a view to the main end sought, namely, their development by appropriate educational methods. §§ 2, 7, 8, 18, 94, 128, 160, 161, 171 of the Service Regulations.

2. Education by compulsion.

- (a.) Meaning of the phrase, Subdivision into compulsory and punitive education, *i. e.*, education as a constituent element of the penalty.
- (b.) Necessity for education by compulsion.
- (c.) Legal status of the question in Germany. (The statute of compulsory education in Baden, the ordinances relating to its execution, and the statute in Flehingen will be examined in detail.)
- (d.) *Exhortatio ad iudices de lege crebro exercenda.* (Movement for reform in the matter of the discretion given to judges as to punishment or education, as well as in respect to the extension of the age of discretion under the criminal code.)
- (e.) Education in the family and in institutions. The *Fürsorgeramt*.
- (f.) Educational institutions.
- (g.) Question of cost.

3. Social arrangements for preventing or remedying the neglect of children. (See paragraphs on the education of children and youth in the text-book.)

III. Preventive measures.

- 1. Precautions prescribed by law to be observed in the discharge of prisoners. Provisions contained in the Service Regulations designed to facilitate the orderly return to freedom. (Preparation for discharge and for aid to discharged prisoners; emigration; discharge should be by day; clothing; the prisoner should be allowed to grow his hair and beard, in order to remove the traces of his incarceration; modes of transportation—prison vans, forwarding prisoners to their homes; provision to be made for the ill, the infirm and the insane in hospitals or asylums; continuation of the education of young prisoners after their discharge; notification of

the local authorities, their pastors, etc. Retention of a moiety of the earnings of prisoners, under § 133 of the Service Regulations, insuring its proper investment, etc.)

2. Precautions prescribed by law to be observed after the discharge of prisoners.

(a.) Control of discharged convicts, under § 23 of the Penal Code; also of prisoners discharged on ticket of leave, under § 127 of the Service Regulations; and of the conditionally pardoned.

(b.) Police supervision.

a. Various methods of its exercise in different countries.

b. Method prescribed by the German code.

c. Procedure to be followed in its initiation. Each case to stand on its own merits. The application, the motion and the decree.

d. Its advantages and disadvantages.

e. Opposite propositions; to increase the rigidity of supervision, and to abolish it. (The latter possible under existing law, because supervision is optional.)

f. Co-operation on the part of the prisoners' aid associations.

IV. Aid to discharged prisoners.

A. Theoretically considered.

1. Prevention better than repression.

2. Neglect of prisoners (physical and moral) a frequent cause of their relapse into crime.

3. Exposed condition of many discharged prisoners. Attitude of society toward them; prejudices.

4. Protective aid is (a) a humanitarian and religious duty; (b.) a necessary complement to the legal penalty; (c.) demanded in the interest of society itself.

5. Universal consensus of opinion as to the necessity for including the care of the discharged convict in the prison system. (National, international and scientific congresses.)

6. Brief historical account of protective aid in Baden.

7. The preventive triumvirate; the state, private organization, and the church.

8. Organization of protective aid, with special reference to district societies. (The executive board; friends of the societies; special guardians; various methods of sustaining public interest in the districts; necessity for finding interesting objects by which to excite the activity of district associations; general meetings; enlisting the district communes.)

9. Use to which dues and property of the society is put.

10. § 7 of the Statutes.

B. Practically considered.

1. Who are to be helped.

2. Protective work for males.

(a.) For adults and for youths who are not under education by compulsion.

a. Transients.

§ 8 of the Statutes; importance of careful management in the bestowal of this kind of aid; special reference to gifts for

emigration, to placing in colonies, asylums, &c., to clothing, board and lodging, tools and material, loans, payment of debts and rent, and all sorts of purchases; special consideration of the question of finding work; individualization; employment bureaus; *Natural-Verpflegungs-Stationen*.

- b. Permanent care; continuing surveillance; special guardian; activity of clergy; continuance of education under compulsion.
- c. Successes and failures.
- (b.) For young offenders and neglected children. (Co-operation of societies in this very important branch of protective aid.)
- 3. Protective work for females.
 - (a.) Adults.
 - (b.) Young girls. Scheibenhardt and his work.
- 4. Protective work for families of prisoners.
- C. Hypothetical cases—Appeal for protective work.
- V. Other preventive measures. Explanation of II, §§ 384 ff., of the text-book with additional suggestions. Practical illustrations from life; the oath, Sunday rest, public education, combating drunkenness and prostitution, particularly examination of laws now in force against these evils; (legal and administrative provisions and measures.) Struggle against mendicancy. *Natural-Verpflegungs-Stationen* and labor colonies.

[E.]

- Lectures by the resident physician. Prisons from the standpoint of health.
- I. Medical service and the medical staff. Subordinate officers and help. Regulations.
 - II. Matters relating generally to the condition and arrangements of prisons from a sanitary point of view.
 - III. Diet; clothing, regulations.
 - IV. Care of the sick, especially during epidemics. Hospitals and wards.
 - V. Statistics of disability, sickness and death. Course of action in case of death.
 - VI. Criminal psychology and mental disease, particularly insane asylums for criminals.

[F.]

Closing address. (Short summary of the results of the course and farewell address, either by the resipient or the director, whichever of the two closes the course.)

PROCEEDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS.

FIRST SESSION.

THURSDAY, JUNE 15, 1893, 10.30 A. M.

Section VII of the International Congress of Charities, Correction and Philanthropy was called to order in Hall 29 of the Art Institute, Chicago, by the chairman, E. BENJAMIN ANDREWS.

Professor GRAHAM TAYLOR offered the following:

“Resolved, That a committee be appointed by this section to petition the National Conference of Charities and Correction for the institution of a permanent section on ‘Sociology in Education.’”

The resolution was adopted and the chairman named Professor Graham Taylor and the secretary of the section as the committee.

The secretary then submitted extracts from letters and communications received by him and Professor G. G. WILSON described from the syllabus, Dr. VON JAGEMANN'S lectures on *“Gefängnisswesen.”*

The paper by D. G. RITCHIE on *“Pauperism in the Light of the Theory of Natural Selection”* was read by the secretary.

The chairman announced that this paper and the other communications that had been submitted were before the section for discussion.

MR. ROBERT A. WOODS of the Andover House, Boston: I like the reference which Mr. Ritchie makes to the higher ground in which natural selection may act. He uses the phrase *“rational artificial selection.”* I hope that after awhile we shall, perhaps, be advanced enough to see that this rational artificial selection is the most natural selection of all, that reason is an essential part of nature, and that the action of reason in nature is perfectly natural. The proposition which Mr. Ritchie makes in the way of applying this higher natural selection to the more helpless and useless and dangerous members of the community is, it seems to me, very suggestive. He shows how we can begin at the farthest edge, and work towards the centre of the problem.

It is very striking, to see how many men, from different points of view, begin to feel the necessity of sequestering the worst elements of the pauper class in the community. As far back as 1860 Mr. Ruskin published a book "Unto this Last," in which this plan was suggested; and we have lately been told, in the biography of Ruskin by his secretary (running at once to the other extreme), that, when General Booth began to consider his plan for a social movement on the part of the Salvation Army, he went to the Rev. Herbert Mills, who was secretary of a colonization society in England, and said to him: "I don't know much about political economy, and I would like to study it up a little; I want you to refer me to some book I can use." Mr. Mills referred him to this book by John Ruskin, and General Booth afterwards came out with a proposition to sequester the most hopeless of the pauper class.

Then, to pass to another realm of social investigation and of social action, Charles Booth, who has done, perhaps, the finest work in this generation in the way of social investigation, presents a similar proposition, which is modestly stated, but well supported by him. Mr. Booth rarely ventures to offer any suggestions in the way of social improvements, and therefore those which he does make are doubly and trebly valuable. He suggests that the pauper class (excluding some of the lowest and most helpless elements, which may be expected to run themselves out of existence), or at least the nucleus of the pauper class, shall be sequestered in some new form of institution, so as to relieve the lower grades of actual working people from that constant competition which makes all their lives precarious.

There has recently been issued in this country a book entitled "Prisoners and Paupers" by Mr. Boies of Pennsylvania, a member of the Pennsylvania State Board of Charities. It is a most useful and important book. Mr. Boies proposes to apply to the habitual pauper the principle already embodied in our habitual criminal acts, and proposes the creation of some sort of institution in which the habitual pauper shall be confined for a long term, thus separating him from the community in the same way that the habitual criminal is separated. We heard the other night, from Mr. Paine, of prisoners being sent down to the "Island," as we say in Boston, fifty, sixty and one hundred times. None of us can consider that for a moment, without seeing how absolutely foolish and absurd it is. In the same way people are sent to the almshouse at Tewksbury, time after time, year after year. They go there to hibernate. They return to the community each time more confirmed in the habit of pauperism than before. Now, it seems to me that it would be perfectly simple and practicable to enact a rule that, after a person had hibernated at Tewksbury a certain number of times, he should spend both winter and summer there for at least a long period of years. I only offer this as a further suggestion in the direction of rational artificial selection.

Mr. HOMER FOLKS, secretary of State Charities Aid Association of New York.—A word as to the way in which a paper of this sort appeals to one who has made charitable work his profession. No such person feels for a moment, I think, otherwise than that his line of work is of peculiar and vital importance to the community, and at this time. There is no wavering in his conviction as to his personal duty or the social utility of his work. Yet if he has tested the doctrines of evolution and has read Professor Sumner's statement, "The drunkard in the gutter is just where he ought to be," and much more of like import, he is apt to feel a painful lack of harmony between his convictions as to actual social needs and what he supposes to be advanced scientific teaching as to the nature of social life and development. This apparent discrepancy is not sufficiently serious to cause him to lose any sleep nor any of his enthusiasm, but it places him in a frame of mind warmly to welcome whatever promises an adjustment of economic and sociological teaching to his convictions of practical duty. He still feels a great respect for the college professor, and would be pleased to hear the teacher who expounded to him Mill and Ricardo say to him now, that he is doing the thing that needs to be done. He would be still more pleased, if the professor should choose to accept tentatively as economic truth *his* statements as to what should be done in his particular field.

This paper seems to me to be a gleam of light in this yet shadowy region, and we welcome it and ask for more.

Prof. GRAHAM TAYLOR of Chicago Theological Seminary. The ignorance that prevails upon the topic of this paper is dense and alarming, not only among the ignorant and illiterate class, but among the so called liberally educated class, and it is the prime source of very many of the social evils and very much of the crime of the present day. Now the emphasis laid upon the necessity of educating people along the lines suggested by this paper seems to me to be tremendous. Herbert Spencer, in his invaluable little book on education, begins by saying that, as in savage life, so also in education, ornament precedes dress; and then goes forth in that same iconoclastic, but nevertheless unanswerable way, to insist upon the necessity of primary attention to the useful in education. If I could, I would make every student in our colleges and theological seminaries master that volume. Of course I know that it is incomplete on certain sides, but nevertheless it lays a foundation for spiritual development and a religious education, which is absolutely essential to-day.

Now, it seems to me that if a new and broader Malthus could arise to formulate the law of population in the light of modern biological, economic and ethical science, a re-statement of facts and inductions on that subject could be made, which would enable the colleges, universities and theological seminaries of the land to guard the purity of the per-

son and of the family, and to guide the action of the state in preventing the propagation of pauperism and crime.

The secretary presented by title his report on "Philanthropology in Educational Institutions."

The section then adjourned.

SECOND SESSION.

FRIDAY, JUNE 16, 1893, 10.30 A. M.

The general session of the Congress, for which Section VII had been asked to furnish the programme, was called to order by the acting president, Rev. FREDERICK H. WINES, who introduced, with appropriate remarks, President E. BENJAMIN ANDREWS, chairman of the section, as the presiding officer of the day. The chairman read, as his inaugural address, a paper on "Social Science in Liberal Education."

The chairman introduced Professor Dr. ISIDOR SINGER of the University of Vienna, who addressed the Congress upon "The Study of Social Science in Austria."* On the conclusion of the address, Dr. SINGER was made honorary vice-chairman of the Congress.

Mr. GEORGE ILES, secretary of the Society for Political Education, was introduced and presented his paper on "Popular Education in Social Science."

Professor GEORGE G. WILSON spoke upon "The Study of Criminology."

The length and number of the papers precluded general discussion of them, and after the announcements for subsequent meetings the session adjourned.

*An unfortunate misunderstanding on the part of the reporter led him to make no notes of this address. The secretary, on learning this, wrote to Dr. Singer urging him to write out his remarks, but it has not been possible for him to do so.

THIRD SESSION.

FRIDAY, JUNE 16, 1893, 2.30 P. M.

The second and last sectional meeting of Section VII was called to order by Chairman ANDREWS.

The committee appointed to petition the National Conference of Charities and Correction for the institution of a permanent section on "Sociology in Education," reported that their request had been granted in advance of its being preferred, the officers charged with the work of organizing the Conference having already made the desired arrangement.

In the order given, the following papers were then presented by the persons indicated:

"The Need of Training Schools for a new Profession," by Miss ANNA L. DAWES, of Pittsfield, Mass.

"Sociological Work in Theological Seminaries," by Professor GRAHAM TAYLOR, of the Chicago Theological Seminary.

"College Graduates in Benevolent Work," by Mr. HOMER FOLKS, secretary of the State Charities Aid Association of New York.

"University Settlements as Laboratories in Social Science," by Mr. ROBERT A. WOODS, of the Andover House, Boston.

The discussion which followed grouped itself around the paper of Mr. Woods on the one hand and those of Miss Dawes and Mr. Folks on the other. Mr. GILLESPIE, announcing himself as one who came from one of the five theological schools in which the study of sociology has been made compulsory, commented, chiefly by way of endorsement, upon Professor Taylor's paper. Arranging the reports so as to bring together what was said about each of the two leading subjects remarked upon, the discussion was substantially as follows:

Miss ZILPHA D. SMITH, general secretary of the Associated Charities of Boston: I want to bring out two or three practical considerations regarding the need and possibility of training for paid workers in charity, of which Miss Dawes has spoken. We feel the need in Boston almost, if not quite, as much as in smaller cities. For, while an Associated Charities' agent in Boston does not herself have to manage the kindergartens, clubs, relief societies, etc., she must have an appreciative knowledge of their purposes and of their administrative difficulties, in order to co-operate with them for the real good of the poor.

In Boston, our agents are now all women, but we have no prejudice against men; it is simply because of the economic conditions to which Miss Dawes referred. The first difficulty we experience is that of age. No charitable society would take a girl fresh from the High School for an agent's work, or even train her in it; she has had too little experience in life. If she adds four years of study in college, the difficulty is almost as great; because, unless she has earned her living while going through college, or has lived always at home, her four years of study have been four years taken away from life and experience. But the women we want for our work are not those who are able to wait until they are twenty-seven or twenty-eight years old before they begin to earn; much less can they, at that age, give up time to learning a profession. They can never hope, as a young man might, sometime to earn from \$2,000 to \$4,000 a year, and so repay the cost of their education. Indeed, most of the women we should choose for this service have more depending upon their earnings than their own support, and have gained skill and command wages which they cannot give up to undertake our work, however great their interest. It is with us as with the training schools for nurses, which want women from twenty-five to thirty-five years of age, and therefore pay them enough for their expenses in order to get pupils at all. Within a few years our directors have tried the plan of taking one person at a time in training for agent's work, in order to be able to fill the places of agents already employed when the latter drop out. In all, four different persons have been taken in this way. They are paid \$25 a month for two months, \$30 a month for four months, and after that they are guaranteed work for two years amounting to \$400 a year at the rate of \$40 a month, even if no regular position as agent offers meantime. At such terms, no one will undertake the work who does not love it. Of the four who have been tried, two were failures; but, as one of our directors has said, this merely proves the success of the plan. If we had waited until we needed a new worker, the failure would have been made in the work, where it would have done much mischief, instead of during training. The pupil is put with one of our best agents, not as an assistant—we have tried that and it does not work well—but as a person to be trained, to be given the most difficult work, and taught to do it well. This is a heavy burden upon these agents. We all know that it is easier to do a thing than to teach some one else to do it.

But is it not possible for institutions of learning to make their courses in sociology of use to the paid workers already in the field? Many of them could not pass the examinations required of students; but their experience, and especially their need of a broader knowledge of their own subject, might admit them instead. It would be useless, however, to send the invitation directly to the paid workers. As was pointed out in Miss Hampton's paper on nurses' work, one is in no condition after a hard day's work to listen to a lecture in the evening, and since

their time belongs to some one else, they would not feel at liberty to leave their work to attend morning or afternoon lectures. But if the opportunity were offered to paid workers through their boards of managers, I think a number of workers would be sent to attend the courses, and that the classes in the colleges, the workers in the field, and through them the poor people, would all be gainers.

JAMES W. WALK, M. D., general secretary of the Philadelphia Society for Organizing Charity:

I have been in this work longer than a good many of my hearers. I was one of the few young men that went into it fresh from the college. I left my college and the graduating stage, and two weeks after that I was superintendent of a large charitable institution in Philadelphia. When I remember the experience I had then, it is hard for me to practise Christian charity; hard for me to be charitable toward the people who wounded, hurt and embittered my life. There is no sphere of life more discouraging, more prone to make you hate your fellow-man, than was the sphere into which I, as an enthusiastic paid charity worker, was put some years ago. I am glad to say that it is better now. We were insulted because we took the money given us for our services. May I give you a few illustrations? I had not been in that public institution three months, when a prominent gentleman came to me, who happened to be a graduate of the college from which I had graduated. He said that he had seen a notice of the commencement addresses, and that the prize was taken by my brother. I said "No, that was not my brother." "Why it could not have been you!" "Yes," I said, "it was myself." He replied in astonishment, "And you are now working in a charity institution!" He seemed perfectly amazed that a college man should be there. He added, "I hope you are not going to stay here long." A newspaper in my city, the very best, the most honorable journal in it, said editorially that all work in charity and for charitable societies should be done without pay, unless the person who performed it would otherwise be an object of charity! Now I have come to the point where I cannot listen with patience to such sentiments, and if any one wants to be insulted, let him come to me and talk in that manner.

A gentleman once said to me, "I do not see how any man can take pay for doing charity work; I understand that you simply do it as an adjunct to the practice of medicine." I gave him this little illustration: I said, "You regard yourself as an ordinarily charitable man?" He said, "Yes." "How much is your time worth? Ten dollars a day?" He thought it was. "How much do you contribute to charity in the course of a year?" He said that he gave to certain charities five dollars. "You give five dollars, that is one-half a day out of three hundred and sixty-five and you expect a charity worker to give three hundred and sixty-five days! Now I will make a bargain with you. I will give a

whole month's time if you will give three hundred dollars." But he was not prepared to do that. Yes, that is the spirit. Until we can get rid of the miserable, contemptible spirit in some communities, which insists that the charity worker is not worthy of his hire, or that it is not an employment in which college graduates and a superior class of workers may engage, the work will not succeed as it should. It is our duty to do everything in our power to obliterate from the social opinion of the times the wretched notion that the man who does faithful charity work is not just as deserving of pay as the man who does his part faithfully anywhere else.

Mr. CHARLES W. BIRTWELL, secretary of Children's Aid Society of Boston: I am sorry to hear so many times in Mr. Woods' paper the word "new." Democracy was born before to-day, and whenever and wherever anyone has tried to solve the difficulty and bear the burden of another human creature, less privileged or less fortunate, that person has shown the spirit that the "social settlement" stands for. I do not care whether a person goes out as the "volunteer visitor" of a charitable society, or as a "city missionary," or under other auspices or no auspices, the only essential is service, helpfulness, through real, personal association.

The only respect in which of necessity the social settlement workers differ from other social workers, is that they have eliminated the physical and moral difficulties of distance,—they live snug to their work. But residents in social settlements may be "condescending," and charity workers, unpaid and paid, may live a good mile away from their work, and not be open to this charge. It is the spirit that we must bear in mind, and the spirit of the social settlement movement is the spirit of brotherhood and mutual helpfulness, which is older than any of us.

We must guard against any misunderstanding between two constantly increasing bodies of social workers who ought to understand and respect each other,—the social settlement resident and the so-called charity worker. I have known all kinds of workers, under all sorts of conditions, to work nobly and silently. Let us not tell the world that a new thing has come. Let us say that we are doing the same old work, but simply find certain conditions feasible for some of us, and, for such of us, conducive to the effective service of our fellows. The "settlement" is but another tint, not a new primary color.

Mr. FREDERICK WILKINS, of Wisconsin: I take issue with the gentleman from Boston, whose name I do not know, but who brings an indictment against college settlements on the ground that the people composing them are narrow.* I hope he will not condemn me for venturing

*A comparison of this opening sentence with the speech that called it forth will indicate that Mr. Wilkins spoke under a misapprehension. This fact and

to take issue with him on the ground of my lack of information on such subjects. While not now or at any time a member of the settlement, I am a graduate of Oxford University, England, and for some years was associated closely with Father Benson. I have been for three years the head of the Knights of Labor in Wisconsin, and this organization has numbered some 40,000 members. I am now president of the State Conference of Charities and Corrections, and am superintendent of a public insane asylum; so my experience, I hope, will be sufficient to acquit me of ignorance, and entitle me to speak in opposition to the gentleman from Boston.

I think the value of college settlements is incalculable, for the very reason that the personal element in their work is above, often far above the average. I found, during my intimate connection with working men in my position as head of the Knights of Labor, that ignorance of their needs was a great cause of failure, not only on the part of the church, but on the part of various organizations for charitable and philanthropic work. We have no appreciation of the earnestness on the part of the common people, as they are termed, to be uplifted and to uplift themselves. That college men shall go and live with them, and learn, by observation of their daily life, their real needs, and apply that broad, scientific knowledge to the solution of the questions at issue, and to the satisfying of those needs, is to my mind the only possible way by which they can be met without sacrificing the independence of the common people. Therefore I hope that the gentleman from Boston, with his personal knowledge gathered at Andover House, will acquit the college settlements of narrowness, as I understood him to say to this audience.

I think that, perhaps, if college settlements were not confined to localities where the common people live, but were located as well among the so-called better classes, the wealthier classes, and the attempt were made to teach them their duty and their needs also,—if the work were thus pushed at both ends, and then all along the line, another need would be met. I hope the day will come when this second branch of the work will receive the attention of the social settlements.

Mr. BIRTWELL: I am a loyal member of the Council of Andover House. I have had the honor of official connection with Denison House. Yet I cannot admit the needlessness of the point I have tried to make. Transient residence in a settlement will not make one an expert. Any valuable addition to our fund of sociological information

the further one that there was no real issue between the two gentlemen was pointed out by the chairman later on, but the remarks are inserted as made because of the light thrown upon the subject by considering it from different points of view.

will be made only through patient, long-continued, skilful investigation. It will not come from the 'prentice work of young students. The resident will need a good bit of time to overtake the charity experts of our charity organization societies, the sanitary experts of our boards of health, the prison experts on the crime question. Great naturalists are not made in a day. He is indeed a rare man whose best part of a life-time spent in any service leads to a real contribution to his chosen art or science.

Let us not think too readily, then, that we have in the settlement the "open sesame" to social science. To be sure, we have already in some of their leaders genuine experts, but as yet the settlements are in the main gatherings of learners, who would be the last to wish that any false value be given to the results of their work and observation.

In adjourning the final session of Section VII President ANDREWS, the chairman, said:

I wish, in conclusion to express my gratitude to all who have prepared such excellent papers for our several sessions. I wish to do the same to all the ladies and gentlemen who have taken part in these discussions in any way. They have greatly refreshed us, and I have no doubt that, when their addresses and remarks appear in the record, it will be found that we have a mass of information which will prove to be of lasting value.

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